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29 JULY 1986

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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29 JULY 1986

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNALISTS: MARCH 1986 - MAY 1986

March 1986 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 3, Mar 86 p 56

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] ALBERT SAVVICH BURLAK is confirmed as editor-in-chief of the APN Latin American Main Editorial Staff.

He was born in 1930. He graduated from Moscow State Institute for International Relations. After 1956 he worked in Sovinform as a reviewer, editor in the Latin American Press Department. Since 1961 he has worked in APN: he was an editor of the Latin American Main Editorial Staff and the chief of the APN bureaus in Brazil and in the Republic of Mozambique. Since 1982 he has been the deputy editor-in-chief of the APN Main Editorial Staff of the Near and Middle East and Africa.

ILYA VASILEVICH LUPANIN is confirmed as chief programming director of Central Radio Broadcasting to foreign countries of USSR Gosteleradio.

He was born in 1925. Higher education. He has worked at Gosteleradio since 1956. He was a correspondent, observer, and commentator of the Main Editorial Staff of Radio Broadcasting to Countries of Central and Northern Europe. He was chief of the Soviet television and radio correspondents' point in Finland. Since 1981 he has been the editor-in-chief of the USSR Gostelradio Main Editorial Staff of Radio Broadcasting to West European Countries.

STANISLAV VLADIMIROVICH OSTAPSHIN is confirmed as the head of the USSR Goskomizdat Administration of International Relations.

He was born in 1940. Graduated from Gorkiy Polytechnical Institute and the USSR Foreign Ministry Diplomatic Academy. He worked in the Komsomol. After 1978 he worked as a first secretary of the Soviet embassy in Yugoslavia and since 1982 he has been a councillor of the Soviet embassy in Yugoslavia.

BORIS VASILEVICH RACHKOV is confirmed as editor of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in the Department of Foreign Economics.

He was born in 1932. Graduated from Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He has worked in the press since 1966. He was deputy editor-in-chief of the journal VNESHNAYA TORGOVLYA and PRAVDA deputy responsible secretary. Since 1974 he has worked at EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA as an observer and deputy editor of the Department of Foreign Economics. He is a candidate of economic sciences.

ALEKSANDR VIKTOROVICH FRADKIN is confirmed as the editor-in-chief of the APN Translations Main Editorial Staff.

He was born in 1923. Higher education. He has worked in the press since 1953. He was a literary contributor to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA, science editor of the journal NOVYYE TOVARY, head of a department and responsible secretary of the journal OBSHCHESTVENNOYE PITANIYE. He has worked at APN since 1965. He was the responsible secretary of the journal SOVETSKIY SOYUZ SEGODNYA, editor-in-chief of the Japan United Editorial Staff of the Asian Countries Main Editorial Staff and APN bureau chief in Japan. Since 1976 he has been deputy editor-in-chief of APN Main Editorial Staff of Periodical Publications.

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#### May 1986 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 5, May 86 p 6]

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] MIKHAIL ALEKSANDROVICH FEDOROV is confirmed as editor-in-chief of the paper ZA RUBEZHOM.

He was born in 1919. He graduated from the Moscow State Aviation Institute and the Higher Diplomatic School. From 1948 to 1963 he worked at TASS. He was a correspondent, TASS bureau chief in the United States, deputy department chief for the Americas, deputy head of the Administration for Foreign Information, and chief of the TASS branch office in Great Britain. From 1963 till 1970 he was the editor of the department for the Americas for the newspaper ZA RUBEZHOM. Since 1970 he worked as deputy editor-in-chief and since 1976 as editor-in-chief of the journal NOVOYE VREMYA.

NIKOLAY NIKOLAEVICH CHETVERIKOV is confirmed as chairman of the Board of the All-Union Copyright Agency.

He was born in 1926. Graduated from Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He worked in the USSR Foreign Ministry, was a correspondent for TASS in Belgium, and he was in diplomatic work. Since 1983 he has been in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON RECENT FOREIGN MINISTRY APPOINTEES

PM131119 [Editorial Report] Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 22, 9 June 86 carries on page 21 short unattributed biographical sketches of new Soviet Foreign Ministry appointees. These are as follows:

"First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Anatoliy Gavrilovich Kovalev

"Anatoliy Kovalev, a Russian, was born on May 18, 1923, at Gnilovskaya station, Rostov Region. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1948. He became a member of the CPSU in 1945. At the 27th CPSU Congress he was elected a member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU.

"Anatoliy Kovalev began his working life in 1941. On joining the diplomatic service in 1948 he worked till 1955 in the Third European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

"First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Yuliy Mikhailovich Vorontsov

"Yuliy Vorontsov, a Russian, was born on October 7, 1928, in Leningrad. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1952. A member of the CPSU Central Committee at the 26th and 27th Party Congresses.

In 1952 Yuliy Vorontsov became a consultant at the Second European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. From 1954 to 1958 he worked at the U.N. Soviet mission. From 1958 to 1963 he was a second secretary, first secretary and counsellor at the Department of International Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1963 to 1965 he served as a counsellor at the Soviet mission to the United Nations Organization and in 1965 returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Till 1966 he was deputy head of the Department of International Organizations. From 1966 to 1977 he was a counsellor, then minister-counsellor at the Soviet embassy in the United States. In 1977 he headed the Soviet delegation at the Belgrade meeting of representatives of member countries of the Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe. From 1977 to 1983 Yuliy Vorontsov served as Soviet ambassador to India and from 1983 to 1986 as Soviet ambassador to France.



"Yuliy Vorontsov has been awarded the Order of Lenin, Orders of the Red Banner of Labour and the Badge of Honour.

"Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the U.S.A. Yuliy Vladmirovich Dubinin

"Yuriy Dubinin, a Russian, was born on October 7, 1930, in Nelchik, Kabardin-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1954 and in the same year became a member of the CPSU. Yuriy Dubinin is a Candidate of Science (history). At the 27th CPSU Congress he was elected a member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU.

"After graduation Yuriy Dubinin was a trainee at the Soviet embassy in France. In 1956-59 he worked in the UNESCO Secretariat in Paris. From 1959 to 1963 he was a third secretary and then second secretary in the First European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1963-68 he was a first secretary and counsellor at the Soviet embassy in France. From 1968 to 1971 Yuriy Dubinin was deputy head of the First European Department and then headed it till 1978. Yuriy Dubinin was a member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1972 to 1978. From 1978 to 1986 Yuriy Dubinin was Ambassador in Spain, and from March to May 1986 was the permanent representative of the U.S.S.R. in the UN. In May 1986 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appointed Yuriy Dubinin to the post of Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in the United States.

"Yuriy Dubinin has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples, the Badge of Honour Order.

"Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the F.R.G. Yuliy Aleksandrovich Kvitsinskiy

"Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, a Russian, was born on September 28, 1936, in Rzhev, Kalinin Region. In 1959 he graduated from the State Institute of International Relations in Moscow. Yuliy Kvitsinskiy is a candidate of Sciences (law). He joined the CPSU in 1962. At the 27th Party Congress he was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

"After graduation Yuliy Kvitsinskiy was assigned to the Soviet embassy in the G.D.R. as an interpreter. Till 1965 he worked as an attache, third and second secretary at the embassy of the U.S.S.R. in the G.D.R. from 1965 to 1978 he was second secretary, first secretary, expert-consultant and deputy head of the Third European Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1978 to 1981 he served as minister-counsellor at the U.S.S.R. embassy in the F.R.G. From 1981 to 1986 he was ambassador at large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"Yuliy Kvitsinskiy has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples."

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

RESUPPLY FLOTILLA DEPARTS ANTARCTIC STATIONS

LD240514 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 20 May 86

[Text] Leningrad, May 20 TASS -- The hooter blown by the diesel electric ship Mikhail Somov, the flagship of the Soviet Antarctic flotilla, while leaving the roadstead of the Bellingsgauzen Station, sounded as a farewell signal over the Island of Waterloo. She was the last of several ships which brought supplies and relief teams to Soviet observatories and stations in the Antarctic. A total of 330 researchers and specialists, including a group of the GDR's researchers, remained for wintering there.

The wintertime Antarctic is not very hospitable. Even now 20-30 degree frosts (centigrade) with constant stormy winds have set in on its shore. Winterers registered for the first time a combination of snowstorms and 70 degree frosts even at the "pole of cold" where the Vostok hinterland station is located and which is not frequented by whirlwinds.

Winterers radio that the observation programme is being fulfilled up to the point. It includes some 200 sections in all sectors of science on the nature of polar regions, ranging from sea biology to the structure of the ionosphere.

Transport communication with Antarctic researchers will be resumed only in October when the Leningrad-South Pole airlift will be opened.

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CSO: 1807/317



## **SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS**

### **DISCUSSION OF SOVIET PROJECTS IN CEMA COUNTRIES**

**Moscow FOREIGN TRADE** in English No 5, 1986 pp 12-15

[Article by Alexandr Kachanov, First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations: "Soviet-Assisted Projects in the CMEA Countries"]

#### **[Text]**

In the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, the task is set for the utmost improvement and enrichment of the Soviet Union's economic interaction with the fraternal socialist countries.

At present, most CMEA members see production intensification as the major factor of their economic development through improving management and the economic mechanism, better use of the available potential and the application of modern technologies. The need to raise the technical standard of the CMEA countries' leading industries has called for active renewal of the means of production in order to carry out the technical re-equipping of these industries.

Hence the fraternal countries are devoting much attention to their economic and technical cooperation with the USSR in building and upgrading industrial and other macroeconomic projects which play an important role in accomplishing the top-priority tasks of their economic development. In the current five-year period, in accordance with the existing agreements on cooperation with these countries, the shipment of complete sets of equipment from the USSR will be approximately 1.4 times up the volume of such shipments effected in 1981-1985.

One of the principal ways of raising the efficiency of the CMEA members' economies lies in the further expansion and rational use of their energy resources. Solution of this problem depends above all on the accelerated development of the atomic power industry by

pooling the efforts of these countries. In the current five-year period, for instance, the European socialist countries and the Republic of Cuba plan to put into service 15 power units with a total installed capacity of over eight million kW, which will enable them to save in 1986-1990 alone, with due account of the power units commissioned previously, around 80 million tons of oil.

In the current five-year plan period there will be an appreciable increase in the volume of Soviet technical assistance to the socialist countries in erecting atomic power plants. Atomic power engineering, for instance, will account for 70 per cent of the total shipments of Soviet complete sets of equipment to the GDR and over 80 per cent to Czechoslovakia.

At present an important qualitative change can be seen in the USSR's cooperation with the socialist countries in the area of atomic power engineering. Up to now the atomic power stations in most CMEA countries have been equipped with 440 MW power units. Today it is planned to construct atomic power plants with 1,000 MW reactors (in the GDR, Romania and Czechoslovakia), which will, when commissioned, build power capacities at an ever faster pace with a simultaneous reduction in the unit consumption of metal, construction materials and fuel. At present, work is nearing completion on the construction of the main power unit with such a reactor in Bulgaria; its commissioning is planned for December 1986.

In the current five-year period, cooperation will continue in constructing power stations operating on brown coals, shales, lignites, water resources, etc., which are traditional for these countries. In 1986-1990 the USSR will continue providing technical assistance in building such projects as heat-and-power plants in Bulgaria, the GDR and Cuba and also the Hoa Binh hydroengineering complex which is unique for the Vietnamese economy.

Solution of the power supply problem will also be facilitated considerably by the further development of the CMEA countries' integrated power systems through the erection of new power transmission lines, including the 750 kV line connecting the South Ukrainian Atomic Power Station with Isaccea (Romania) and Dobrudzha (Bulgaria). On the one hand, it will increase electricity power supplies, and on the other, serve as an important regulative element in the power systems of the member-countries which have or are building large atomic power stations.

Ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy in the fraternal countries has been given important tasks to accomplish. Further technical progress in these countries calls for a qualitative production improvement in these industries. In accordance with the decisions adopted by the Summit Economic Conference of the CMEA countries in 1984, these countries are pooling their efforts to improve the structure of metallurgical production, to raise the quality and widen the assortment of output, to increase the production of quality steel.

That is why today one of the principal trends in the economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the fraternal countries in the iron and steel industry is to modernize and expand existing enterprises.

Cooperation will also be continued in the fields of non-ferrous metallurgy and the chemical and petrochemical industries so as to increase in the coming years the output and shipments of products through specialization and cooperation.

One of the primary tasks set by the Summit Economic Conference is the utmost development of the industries serving the agro-industrial complex, and of cooperation in this area. In the 1986-1990 period it is planned to concentrate efforts on the production and mutual deliveries of foodstuffs by applying progressive technologies and strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture and the food industry.

. . .

In the current five-year period the USSR's cooperation with the *People's Republic of Bulgaria* will proceed on a diversified and large-scale basis. It will cover 115 industrial and other macroeconomic projects. Cooperation will continue in setting up new capacities in power engineering, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the chemical and petrochemical industries, mechanical engineering and other industries. Over 10 per cent of shipments of complete sets of equipment will be used to expand and upgrade existing enterprises.

In 1986-1990, Soviet organizations will assist Bulgaria to set up new capacities: in the power industry (six million kW), in the mining of coal (17 million tons, including lignites) and manganese ore (two million tons) and in the production of ammonium nitrate (450,000 tons) and hot-rolled pipes (120,000 tons).

Among the major projects of cooperation are the atomic power stations Kozloduj (two units, 1,000 MW each), Belene (two units 1,000 MW each), the Maritsa-Vostok 2 heat-and-power plant (two units 210,000 kW

each), the Lenin and the Brezhnev iron-and-steel complexes (modernization).

In accordance with the priority aims of cooperation as determined in the Long-term Programme of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria for the Period up to the Year 2000, in the current five-year plan period Soviet organizations will assist in increasing the extraction and expanding the utilization of local fuels in Bulgaria. Joint prospecting for oil and gas will continue on the Black Sea shelf.

Further steps will be taken to broaden cooperation in expanding the raw material base of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy in the country. Measures are envisaged to ensure ever more rational and integrated use of iron ore from the Kremikovtsi deposits and develop the manganese deposits in Obročište and the tungsten deposits in Gryncharitsa.

Soviet organizations will provide assistance in building and upgrading capacities in the chemical and petrochemical industries with a view to improving the quality and widening the assortment of output, particularly in manufacturing small-tonnage chemical products, as well as new petrochemical products.

The Soviet Union will also give Bulgaria technical assistance in building projects a part of whose output will be exported to the USSR in agreed volumes. In particular, the processing of iron ore from the Kremikovtsi deposit will be organized on these terms. In the USSR and Bulgaria, enterprises of the agro-industrial complex will be modernized on a mutually agreed basis.

The USSR will continue rendering technical assistance to the *Hungarian People's Republic* in constructing the Paks atomic power station with its further expansion and also in modernizing the hot rolling mill "1700", as well as a shop for rolling cold sheet at the Danube iron-and-steel complex and a rolling shop at the Lenin iron-and-steel works in the town of Miskolc, etc.

In 1986-1990, further progress will be made in the USSR's economic and technical cooperation with the *Socialist Republic of Vietnam*.

The Soviet Union will continue helping Vietnam to develop key sectors in her economy, such as power engineering, the coal industry, non-ferrous metallurgy, mechanical engineering, the chemical industry, transport, communications, and also to conduct geological prospecting. Joint efforts will also be continued to make fuller use of Vietnam's production potential.

The current five-year period will see the completion of the Pha Lai thermal power plant (440 MW) with four power units (110 MW each), two of which are already operating.

Work is in progress on the construction of the Hoa Binh hydro-engineering complex on the Black river with a hydroelectric power station for 1,920 MW, the Tri An 420 MW hydroelectric power plant in the south of the country, and several high-voltage power transmission lines and substations.

Soviet and Vietnamese organizations will continue to cooperate in constructing the tin-producing complex in Nge Tinh, whose first stage will turn out 650 tons of tin a year, in expanding the Lao Cai pit and building a concentrating plant to increase the output of apatite concentrate up to 1,560,000 tons a year.

In 1986-1990 work will be started on setting up new Soviet-assisted industries in Vietnam, the ferrous metal industry and oil refining.

The USSR will continue helping Vietnam to train its national personnel.

The volume of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the *German Democratic Republic* will increase considerably. As before, it is basically aimed at assisting the GDR to develop her fuel-and-energy complex. It is planned to complete the construction of the 3rd and 4th stages of the Nord atomic power station, the 1st stage of the Stendal atomic power plant and the Jänschwalde thermal power station. The prospecting for gas, oil and solid minerals will be continued.

In mechanical engineering, attention will be centred on the modernization of the Sachsenwerk electrical plant in Dresden.

In the metallurgical industry, the Soviet Union will participate in erecting a hot rolling shop, including a rolling mill "2000" (2.5 million tons a year), in upgrading the cold rolling shop at the Ost iron-and-steel complex in the town of Eisenhüttenstadt, in building a tin ore mining and concentrating plant, and modernizing capacities for copper smelting and electrolysis at the Mansfeld complex.

Soviet organizations are continuing to assist the GDR in developing its television and radio broadcasting, geology and the building industry.

The main objective of long-term cooperation between the USSR and the *Republic of Cuba* is to assist in the building of the material and technical base of socialism in Cuba, and improve the well-being of the Cuban people.



When discussing the guidelines for their cooperation in the current five-year plan period, the parties charted the concrete ways of implementing the Long-term Programme of Cooperation, determined the volumes and projects of technical cooperation and agreed upon the time-limits for their completion.

Taking account of the objective conditions and real possibilities of Cuba and the requirements of other CMEA members, a central place in Soviet-Cuban cooperation in 1986-1990 is assigned to the agro-industrial sphere. The greatest attention in this area will, as before, be focused on expanding sugar and citrus fruit production in Cuba. Moreover, provision is made for the integrated processing of all wastes of this production and for the setting up of food and chemico-pharmaceutical industries on this basis, and expansion of fodder farming. In 1986-1990 the USSR will give Cuba technical assistance in building factories for the manufacture of lysin, furfural, citric acid and vitamin C. Some of the output of these enterprises will be exported to the USSR.

The Soviet Union will participate in modernizing two plants turning out nitrogenous and three others manufacturing granular fertilizers, in technical re-equipping a cane combine-harvester factory, in organizing the production of spare parts for farming machines and land improvement projects in the republic.

The USSR will help Cuba build the Juragua atomic power station and the Havana thermal power plant (1,300 MW), the largest in the republic.

Cuba is making good progress in developing her nickel industry. The current five-year period will see the commissioning of the nickel factory in Punta Gorda (30,000 tons of concentrate annually). Part of its output will be exported to the USSR. In 1986-1990 work will be continued on modernizing the nickel factories in Nicaro and Moa so as to increase their capacities, and also on constructing with other CMEA members a new nickel works in Las Camariocas.

The Soviet-Cuban present five-year cooperation plan includes measures to construct and modernize large oil refineries in Havana, Santiago de Cuba and Cienfuegos.

When drawing up the plan, much attention was given to increasing oil extraction in Cuba. With this aim in view, further steps will be taken to expand oil survey and prospecting operations. Today, this work has good prospects of success.

The current five-year plan is an important stage in implementing the Long-term Programme of Economic,



Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the *Mongolian People's Republic* for the period up to the year 2000.

Special emphasis will be laid on cooperation in agriculture, which is a vital sector in Mongolia's economy. In 1986-1990 the USSR will increase its assistance to Mongolia in the area of animal breeding, and place special emphasis on strengthening the material and technical base of agricultural associations as the main producers of animal products.

It is planned to appreciably expand the livestock industry's fodder base in order to raise the productivity of cattle, increase the output of agricultural products and further expand the food industry. Due regard will be paid to the priorities in the specific programme for developing agriculture and improving the Mongolian population's food supplies. The priorities were worked out with the assistance of Soviet organizations. In this connection it is planned to increase, with Soviet assistance, the area of irrigated lands by nearly 40,000 hectares and to put under the plough some 80,000 hectares of new virgin lands. The Soviet Union will also help build several meat-canneries and food processing factories in Mongolia.

In the industrial area, cooperation will be aimed at improving the use of the existing production capacities, modernizing and expanding the operating and building new industrial projects.

To ensure further growth of the republic's export resources, provision is made for broader cooperation in the mining industry, especially in increasing the capacities of the joint Soviet-Mongolian enterprises Erdenet and Mongolsovtvetmet.

Measures will be taken to complete projects under construction in Mongolia's fuel-and-energy complex. It is planned to start the construction of a large power station to operate on the coals of the Baganur open-cast mine. Towards the end of the 1986-1990 period the length of the power transmission lines of different voltages is to increase by nearly 3,000 kilometres.

Mongolian organizations are to be helped in effecting measures (geological exploration, survey and design) to start the development of the Hubsugul phosphorite basin.

In 1986-1990, geological prospecting will be enhanced with Soviet assistance so as to expand the mineral raw materials base of the Mongolian non-ferrous metal industry.

The Soviet Union will persevere with helping the republic in the area of the light industry with a view to increasing the output of goods in Mongolia that are produced from animal raw materials.

Soviet assistance will be continued in training Mongolian national personnel and improving their qualifications at educational establishments, enterprises and other institutions in Mongolia and the USSR and also in improving the material base of institutes of higher learning, secondary technical and vocational schools in the republic.

The *Polish People's Republic* in 1986-1990 will be given assistance in building and modernizing 36 projects in various sectors of the economy. About one-third of the total volume of shipments is intended for atomic power engineering projects, some 22 per cent for the iron and steel industry, 11 per cent for the chemical industry, 10 per cent for geological prospecting for oil and gas, 7 per cent for transport (underground railway).

Among the major projects of cooperation in the current five-year plan period mention should be made of the Zarnowiec atomic power station (1,760 MW), the first stage of the underground railway in Warsaw (23 kilometres), three dairies each to process 350,000 litres of milk daily.

Soviet-Polish cooperation will continue in metallurgy. The USSR will assist Poland to build a coke-chemical plant with four coke-oven batteries, total output 3 million tons annually, at the Katowice iron-and-steel complex. With the commissioning of this plant (in 1987) the USSR's commitments arising from the agreement of November 29, 1983, on cooperation in constructing three iron-and-steel works in Poland will have been fully carried out, since the shop for volumetric rail hardening (250,000 tons a year) at the Katowice iron-and-steel complex, and the shop for manufacturing curved sections (100,000 tons a year) at the Pokoj iron-and-steel works, which were provided for in the Agreement, were put into service in 1985.

The above projects will enable Poland to considerably increase the output of metallurgical coke, heat-treated rails and curved sections required for the country's internal needs and export. They will be of great importance for the Soviet Union, too, since part of the output will be exported to the USSR.

In the Statement on the Main Directions of Further Developing and Deepening the Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the CMEA Member-Countries

adopted at the Summit Economic Conference of the CMEA members in June 1984, it is noted: "The participants in the Conference view the extensive development of production cooperation and the establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organizations as an important direction of perfecting the economic mechanism of cooperation and raising its effectiveness." Cooperation in setting up in Poland joint Soviet-Polish enterprises in the engineering, food, light and chemical industries will be a contribution to the fulfilment of this provision.

It is expected that the total volume of Soviet shipments of complete sets of equipment and materials to *Romania* in 1986-1990 will exceed the volume of such deliveries in the preceding five years by 80 per cent. The USSR will help build and modernize 28 projects in various sectors of Romania's economy, including power engineering, the chemical, petrochemical, and pulp-and-paper industries and ferrous metallurgy.

In Romania steps are being taken to construct the first stage of an atomic power station with a VVER-1000 reactor, and to put into operation a 750 kV power transmission line to connect the South-Ukrainian atomic power plant (USSR) with Isaccea (Romania) and Dobrudzha (Bulgaria); equipment will be supplied to produce synthetic rubber, block polystyrene, isocyanates, methanol, manufacture paper, and so on.

*Soviet-Czechoslovak* economic and technical cooperation in 1986-1990 will be concentrated on atomic power engineering. The USSR is assisting Czechoslovakia to erect five atomic power stations with a total capacity of 9,280 MW.

Cooperation will be continued in building the underground railway in Prague and modernizing projects in the metallurgical, chemical, pulp-and-paper and other industries; cooperation will be started in constructing a high-speed transport system in Bratislava.

In the current five-year period Czechoslovakia will, in turn, expand her deliveries of equipment which the Soviet Union has ordered for projects under construction in the USSR and for those being built in third countries with Soviet assistance. The deliveries include equipment for atomic power stations being constructed in the USSR, the GDR and Hungary, and also equipment for hydroelectric power stations and projects in the building materials and metallurgical industries under construction in the developing countries.

In accordance with the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period up to the Year 2000, the Soviet Union will continue to coordinate within the CMEA framework and on a bilateral basis its economic, scientific and technical policies in order to effectively solve jointly major problems in the fields of science, technology, industry, agriculture, transport and capital construction, and also to search for new forms and possibilities of specialization and cooperation in production, mutual trade and other forms of mutual collaboration.

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**SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS**

**IIB PAST, FUTURE ACTIVITIES DETAILED**

**Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 5, 1986 pp 19-21**

**[Article by Vadim Zholobov, Executive Secretary of the IIB Board:  
"International Investment Bank and the CMEA Member-Countries' Cooperation  
Tasks"]**

**[Text]**

Acceleration of socio-economic development of the Soviet Union and other member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance requires rapid development of the material and technical base of industries assuring the growth of labour productivity, economy of material resources and improvement of the goods quality. This task can be accomplished through an effective investment policy, shorter construction time and the technical re-equipping of economic sectors.

The 41st (extraordinary) meeting of the CMEA Session adopted a Comprehensive Programme of the CMEA Member-Countries' Scientific and Technological Progress for the period ending in the year 2000. By realizing this Programme and thus strengthening their scientific and technical potential the CMEA member-countries will actively participate in the international division of labour and scientific and technical cooperation.

The International Investment Bank greatly contributes to the development of the socialist countries' cooperation in scientific and technological progress. As of January 1, 1986, the Bank accepted for crediting 94 projects of total value 10,000 million transferable rubles. The total sum of granted credits amounts to nearly 4,000 million transferable rubles. These sums were used by the CMEA member-countries, Yugoslavia and the international economic organization Interatominstrument.

The projects the International Investment Bank is crediting are noted for their economic effectiveness, high level of automation and mechanization and the quick recoupment of construction costs.

When crediting projects the Bank assures the proper use of credits, the rate of construction, introduction of project capacities and their putting into use, achievement of technico-economic indices and fulfillment by the borrowers of commitments on the delivery of products to the interested CMEA member-countries.

The Bank's credits are mainly for intensifying production, for reconstructing, expanding and technical re-equipping existing enterprises. Sixty-eight out of ninety-four credited projects have been or are being reconstructed or modernized. Priority here goes to the development of mechanical engineering, fuel, power, metallurgical, chemical and other industries on the latest scientific and technical base.

During 15 years of its activity the fuel and power industry has been the main sphere of the Bank's crediting. The development on the Soviet Union's territory of gas condensate deposit and the joint construction of the Soyuz gas pipeline are among the socialist countries' most important integration projects.

The International Investment Bank granted credits worth 2,400 million transferable rubles including those in convertible currency for the work connected with the construction of the gas pipeline. The credits were granted for purchasing pipes, compressor stations' units, equipment for a gas processing plant, construction machinery, mechanisms, etc.

The International Investment Bank participates in realizing an Agreement on Multilateral International Specialization and Cooperation in Production and Mutual Deliveries of Equipment for Atomic Power Stations for the period 1981-1990. Credits have been granted to the participants in this Agreement: the Ganz Mavag mechanical engineering works (Hungary) and the E. Thälmann complex of the heavy engineering industry (the GDR). The Bank imparts paramount importance to crediting mechanical engineering projects vital for accelerating scientific and technological progress, for increasing social production and its efficiency.



The Bank grants credits to enterprises manufacturing products which before had been purchased from the capitalist countries, among these are the GDR Umformtechnik complex (press equipment), the Czechoslovak Duslo Šala factory (antioxidants), etc.

These projects' goods in their quality and specifications are to the best world standards. Besides satisfying the interested CMEA countries' demands part of these products is exported to the advanced capitalist and developing countries. Certain types of these products were awarded medals and special prizes at international exhibitions and fairs. Products manufactured at the Hungarian Ikarus factory (buses), at the Czechoslovak Tatra motor works, at the Fortschritt complex (the GDR) turning out agricultural machinery are known world-wide.

Thus, the Ikarus factory substantially increased its output thanks to capital investments with the Bank's credit. Nearly 85 per cent of the factory's products is exported to more than 30 countries, a substantial portion of it—to CMEA member-countries. A large-scale investment programme for modernizing and reconstructing this enterprise is under way to satisfy the ever increasing demand for buses. The manufacture of the Hungarian buses is a good example of the CMEA member-countries' cooperation in production. Bulgaria supplies various accessories for them, the GDR—sub-assemblies, steering gear, cardan shafts and driver's seats, Poland—windscreen wipers and the USSR—front axles and steering gear elements.

The International Investment Bank also granted a large credit for modernizing equipment and augmenting the Tatra motor works' production capacities. Lorries with this trade-mark are well-known in many countries. They have a large load-carrying capacity, high performance characteristics, operate faultlessly in tough climates, for instance, in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. The new Tatra 815 model was tested specially in these particular conditions. This enterprise is the main supplier of heavy-duty lorries for the CMEA member-countries. Each third vehicle leaving the factory's conveyor is for the Soviet Union.

A new stage of the productivity of labour has been introduced in all socialist community countries. For instance, in the Soviet Union acceleration of the socio-economic development in the 12th five-year plan

period will be based primarily on the increased labour productivity stemming from scientific and technical progress.

The manufacture of highly effective products which raise labour productivity constitutes the foundation for the enterprises' planned output growth and the basis of the International Investment Bank's participation. Thus the expansion of the productive capacities of the Beroe scientific and production complex manufacturing robot system (Bulgaria) will augment the output of industrial robots from 537 to 2,055 per year. After the commissioning of the project the annual industrial robot deliveries to the CMEA member-countries will be nearly 1,500, or approximately 70 per cent of the total output.

The Bank's credit granted to the F. Heckert machine-tool complex (the GDR) will help it undertake measures aimed at improving the manufacture of specialized machine tools and flexible automated lines and automating production sections. This will result in the desired production output growth which will satisfy the CMEA member-countries' demand for the products of the complex whose volume in 1986-1990 will almost treble that reached in the previous five-year plan period.

In addition to the new projects credited in 1985 other projects accepted for crediting in previous years were also financed that year.

A new credit was granted to the Umformtechnik complex (the GDR) for developing the production of press-forging equipment. This complex is now a large manufacturer of machinery and equipment for sheet-metal stamping and die forging and for processing plastics. A portion of this credit was spent on purchasing computer facilities making it possible not only to improve the production process but also to more quickly meet the customers' demands. Recently the complex switched over from supplying separate machines to the manufacture and delivery of complete production lines.

To satisfy the increasing demand for printed matter the printing industry needs modern highly efficient equipment. The Polygraph complex named after W. Lamberz (the GDR) is one of the world's famous manufacturers of such equipment. The Bank granted a large credit for its reconstruction and modernization, i.e. the purchasing of numerically controlled equipment, computers, transport and warehouse facilities, etc.

Thanks to the new capital investments the complex's output will double and its deliveries to the CMEA member-countries will increase more than fivefold. The further automation of offset presses using microelectronic technology will substantially raise labour productivity and improve the quality of printing. The complex's products are exported to the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Cuba and other CMEA member-countries.

The International Investment Bank granted credits to pay for the machinery and equipment delivered to projects of the electrical engineering and electronic industries: to Bulgaria for expanding capacities manufacturing low-voltage electrolytic capacitors at a factory in Kyustendil and for developing the production of ferromagnetic materials in the town of Pernik; to Poland for increasing the output of low-power electric motors at the Silma factory in Zagorz, of measuring instruments at the Era factory in Warsaw and special instruments and devices for automatic control systems at the Mera-Pnefal factory in Warsaw-Falenice. The new servicing building of the International Interatominstrument economic association was built in Zielona Gora due to participation of the Bank's credit. This made it possible for the Association to increase the volume of maintenance work on radio isotopic, nuclear-physical and electronic, instrumentation and other devices for the CMEA member-countries.

At present the International Investment Bank is studying the possibility of granting credits to finance scientific and technical research and the construction of research and design projects and centres for training scientists and technicians.

The International Investment Bank's activity has a positive impact on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and on raising the output of new highly efficient products in the CMEA member-countries.

The work on identifying the possible projects of crediting for 1986-1990 is in progress. It is based on the results of the coordination of economic plans for the current five-year plan period with account of the decisions adopted at the CMEA member-countries' Summit Economic Conference and the CMEA

member-countries' Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress up to the year 2000. The International Investment Bank is considered as a source for financing the outlined measures.

New credits will be granted by the Bank to help the CMEA member-countries jointly realize such scientific, technical, social and economic tasks as the transfer to the manufacture of new generations of machinery and equipment, the development and wider use of automated, computer and microprocessor facilities and robotics, the introduction of progressive technological processes, the economic and rational utilization of fuel, power and raw material resources, modernization of agro-industrial sectors and transportation network. The Bank's financial assistance is directed at solving key social production problems and accelerating the fraternal countries' scientific and technical progress, it will promote the socialist community countries' economic integration and strengthen their national economies.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### U.S., WEST CHARGED WITH SELLING HARMFUL CHEMICALS, MEDICINES

Moscow GUDOK in Russian 3 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by L. Ilina: 'Merchants of 'Quiet Death''']

[Text] The Zimbabwean company "Complex Marketing Corporation" ordered from the United States a shipment of chemical substances for cleaning machine equipment. The order was filled by two American companies which tried to foist off on the buyer a chemical mixture containing only one percent of the ordered cleaning substance. In addition, it was highly toxic and flammable. If the employees of the Zimbabwean company had not discovered the forgery in time the health of many people would have been threatened.

This story is typical. It is only regular evidence of the continuous attempts by capitalist states to turn the developing countries into a dumping ground for low quality or stale goods. Already in 1980 the World Health Organization (WHO) expressed concern regarding the uncontrolled trade of western countries with the third world in poisonous agricultural chemicals long banned in Western Europe and North America. The ground for a special report by WHO was a scandal which developed around the Dutch chemical company "Collum Hemi". It delivered to Kenya, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Ethiopia a preparation called "Ortho Defoliant". It stated that this contained 80 percent of the fungicide designated to fight disease in coffee plants. When the purchasers discovered that the preparation was ineffective and the coffee harvest was in danger of perishing they decided to conduct a test. And what did they find? The active substance in the preparation was only 11 percent. The remainder consisted of chalk. And the substance itself was not a fungicide but a much less effective but much more poisonous pesticide.

In the WHO report it was noted that as a result of the export of similar chemicals to the "third world" countries one poisoning occurs every minute and one person dies every hour. At the same time it is detrimental to the economy of these countries because the western states, on one hand, so to speak, strew their poisons and on the other hand block the road to their exports. They limit the imports of products from a number of developing countries on the grounds that there is a high concentration of pesticides in them.

However, agricultural and industrial toxic chemicals are not the only field of activity of the poisoners. An even greater number of casualties are due to the pharmaceutical industry. Last summer the Nigerian Minister of Health said that a strict system of control over the import



of medicines was being developed, inasmuch as medicines are imported into the country which have passed their expiration date or which are recognized as harmful by the producer country, for example the United States. These measures received broad publicity. How did they react to them across the ocean? In November the American leadership officially...allowed the export to the "third world" of preparations, prohibited in the United States itself. The motives given are "significant": it will create an additional 10,000 jobs in the U.S., it will increase the income of the pharmaceutical corporations by 500 million dollars a year, it will not allow competition from Western Europe or Japan to occupy the market...Only the casualties borne by the health of the population of the developing countries has not been taken into account. And each year only in Africa alone more than 300,000 people die from poor quality medicines.

In June, one of the leading doctor-pharmacologists of Latin America, Pedro Portillo, together with a WHO expert Desmond Lawrence published a special report. From it it became clear that 61 percent of all medicine sold on the continent is harmful to one's health. In particular, the use of the "painkiller" (Tsimtidin) or the birth control pill (Depo provera) have even caused death. Portillo made a serious accusation against the western concerns. He stated that they turned the "third world" into an "international experimentation area" in which to test drugs.

It is even worse when children become the "guinea pigs". For example, the Swiss firm "Siba" marketed in Egypt a drug called "Galerkon". The concern had the suspicion that the drug might cause skin cancer. Egyptian children, whom they sprayed with Galerkon for skin inflammations, were the ones who, not knowing anything, would disprove or confirm these suspicions. Finally, the condition of the children grew worse, the story came to light, the concern "apologized" and banned the sale of the medicine. But after two years "Galerkon" appeared again, this time in Mexico.

Is it worth it to comment on these facts? They speak for themselves. The history of imperialism knows examples when a whole country was turned into a "testing area" or a whole people into "guinea pigs". During their aggression in Vietnam the Americans transformed a once flourishing tropical country into an testing ground for new types of weapons, including chemical weapons. And ten years after the war the "quiet death" continued to claim its victims.

Such crimes, administered today with poison, are smaller in scale but no less immoral.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

USSR-NORTH KOREAN COOPERATION, KOREAN ACHIEVEMENTS DESCRIBED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 86 pp 37-40

[Article by Serghei Chugrov: "Scaling New Heights"]

[Text]

The Korean people acquired freedom 40 years ago. It was brought by the Soviet Armed Forces which routed the Kwantung Army, the elite shock grouping of Japanese militarism, in August 1945 and thereby decisively influenced the outcome of the Korean people's long national liberation struggle. A road to national revival opened up before the Koreans.

All the necessary conditions for the free expression of the Korean people's will were ensured in the north of the country, where Soviet Armed Forces were temporarily stationed after Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial oppression, and all power was handed over to the working people.

The state flag of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was raised over the "land of morning freshness" on September 9, 1948.

Serghei Chugrov's article is about life in the DPRK today and the traditional friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and people's Korea.

**K**im Chang Ilak, a surgeon, has just been awarded the

Soviet Order of Friendship Among Peoples, and he is deeply moved. His cheeks are slightly flushed and his voice noticeably trembles with emotion.

"We considered it our duty to save the Soviet specialist's life," he said at a ceremony in a hall of the Soviet Embassy at which Soviet orders and medals were presented to Korean public health workers. "We knew that we were helping our comrade and brother...."

"How did it all happen?"—I asked Kim Chang Ilak after the ceremony.

"I remember every detail of that night which seemed to last for weeks. Just before dawn we got an emergency call to the Pukchang aluminium plant. Somebody had to be treated for burns. The patient turned out to be 36-year-old Vladimir Podolkhov. It was a terrible sight: more than half of his skin had been burned and turned to mash. Only his face, protected by a mask during the accident, had been spared from the flames.

"It was not even his shift, his comrades told me. But Vladimir came to the plant knowing that the workers had noticed a deviation in the position

of an anode in one of the furnaces. Who else, he thought, but he, an anodiser with 20-year experience, could fix the furnace. It was during the repair work that the accident happened: huge tongues of flames came blasting out of the opening engulfing the furnace and Vladimir. He should have leapt away from the furnace then. But he knew that the flames could be followed by an eruption of molten metal that would destroy many other furnaces so he stayed where he was and plugged up the aperture with asbestos. Vladimir Podolkhov is a brave man."

"We were at the patient's bedside 24 hours a day," Kim Chang Ilak continued. "We had to graft 1,800 square centimetres of skin on him. About a hundred Korean doctors, nurses and other personnel donated their skin. Even total strangers offered their skin to the Soviet specialist."

It is said that no one is irreplaceable. Of course, that is true in daily life. But accidents are not planned and who can replace a selfless person at a critical moment? Vladimir Podolkhov faced the flames one-to-one, and did not retreat.

And who knows what would have happened to diesel locomotive driver Vasily Mazur and his assistant Alexander Rakhimdzhanov who met with an accident near the Siberian town of Tynda, had not Kim Yong Ilo, a citizen of the DPRK, happened to be nearby? When the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR awarded Kim Yong Ilo the Badge of Honour order in October 1984 his name became widely known throughout the DPRK and the Soviet Union.

Torrential rain swept away one of the supports of a three-span railway bridge near the Mogol station of the Baikal-Amur Railway. The passenger train came to this bridge late in

the night. The driver and his assistant displayed great skill and the passenger cars came to a halt just inches away from the collapsed span. But the engine went hurtling down six metres into the roaring river.

Both injured and with all their strength gone, the driver and his assistant were desperately trying to stay afloat by clinging to the twisted cabin of the engine. Kim Yong Ilo, who works with a group of his countrymen at a timber felling enterprise near the station, saw the crash and rushed to their assistance. Mazur and Rakhimdzhanov were saved.

The Ryonson ball-bearing plant near Pyongyang, came on stream with Soviet technical assistance in 1983. It is now staffed by 3,800 Korean workers and 43 Soviet specialists. Machine tools from Ryazan and powerful presses from Voronezh are installed in its spacious production shop. In another shop we met two leaders of a team of lathe operators, the Korean Kim Guan Been and the Soviet specialist Nikolai Ovdienko from the Kiev machine-tool building amalgamation. Judging by the trade marks, the line of lathes for turning the bearings' outer rings also came from the capital of the Ukraine.

Soviet-Korean economic cooperation has deep roots. After Korea was liberated from the Japanese colonial yoke it was faced with serious economic tasks. It was necessary to overcome the lopsided nature of the colonial economic structure and restore the economic balance that had been upset due to the country's split into two parts. The question of training skilled national personnel was acute.

An important role in solving these problems was played by the agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the USSR and People's Korea that was signed on March 17, 1949.

Soviet specialists were sent to the DPRK and twenty enterprises were rebuilt or built anew from 1954 to 1960. So far, 62 enterprises have been built or reconstructed in the DPRK with Soviet technical and economic assistance. The course for developing cooperation between the two countries was confirmed in 1984 during the visit paid to the USSR by a party and state delegation of the DPRK headed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, President of the DPRK, Kim Il Sung.

The DPRK has achieved considerable successes in science during the postwar years. It is symbolical that the fraternal countries are cooperating also in the field of space research. A satellite tracking station has been built near Pyongyang with the help of Soviet specialists. The data obtained from outer space is utilised in the DPRK's economy.

And yet another highly eloquent sign of the times. A new atomic power engineering department has been opened at Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang.

"The country is preparing to build atomic power stations and we need our own specialists in this field," Chen Guan Bon, head of the university's department for international ties told me. "Who could even have thought of such a department in 1946, when our university was founded? In 1946 we enrolled 1,500 students who did not have even complete secondary education. Today our university has as many teachers as it had students in 1946. And there are 12,000 students studying at the university's 14 departments today.

"The university maintains permanent ties with Moscow State University, the Humboldt University in the GDR and the Vazov University in Bulgaria.

We operate exchanges of students, graduates, professors and teachers with Moscow University and specialists from our two universities pool their efforts in writing new text books," Chen Guan Bon continued.

Throughout the DPRK one can come across enterprises employing specialists from both countries. But Koreans take a national pride in projects that they themselves are building.

The most striking example is the construction of the huge 8-kilometre-long dam in the estuary of the river Taedonggang that flows into the Yellow Sea. A trip to this construction site, in which the whole country is involved, gave me an idea of the scale on which nature is being transformed.

A multitude of neat stacks can be seen on the coast of the Yellow Sea. This is salt covered with straw. For centuries peasants had tried to win this land from sea salt. The new dam will help solve this problem.

"But this is not the main thing for our farm cooperatives," Kan Myon Chol, a builder, told me. "The dam will make it possible to start irrigating all land adjoining the Western coast and to grow reliable harvests. Furthermore, the reservoir will improve the water supply of several cities, including Nampo and Pyongyang. And the transport problem? Today, we have to make an 8-hour detour along the shore of the gulf to reach the Hwanghae Namdo province from Nampo. The dam will make it possible to cross it in less than half an hour!"

The idea to build a dam here arose 30 years ago. But then people only shrugged it off as impossible: the current is so strong here, how would it be possible to fill with rocks a whirlpool thirty-metres deep? Now the face of the area has changed beyond recognition. And this is despite the fact

that the decision to build the dam was adopted only in May 1981.

The dam spanning the waters of the Yellow Sea looks like a thin thread. It carries a railway and highway. The thoroughfare on top of the dam is 14 metres wide.

"It took 300 million cubic metres of earth and rock, 100,000 tons of reinforcements and more than a million tons of cement to build this thread", Kan Myon Chol continued.

Three locks have been built in a huge pit. Work is being conducted here at a depth of 30 metres below sea level. More than a half of all capital investments in the dam went to these headworks. And it is with good reason that these locks are called the heart of the project. Only recently 10 million cubic metres of water and about a million tons of silt filled the spot where the locks now stand.

Creaking slightly, the endless conveyor belt carries rock and boulders to the dam. Bit by bit the mountain is sent along the conveyor belt and gradually turns into the dam. The latter will surely be a strong one since it is being built out of a mountain that had stood majestically for hundreds of thousands of years. The main "bricks" from which the dam is being built are huge caissons 30 metres long, 24 metres wide and 12 metres high. Each such "brick" weighs about 5,000 tons. They were built right here, on a construction site with an area of 33,000 square metres. Then each caisson is attached to a tug, slowly pulled to the closure channel and sunk. A total of 57 such caissons have been placed in the lock part of the dam. The average height of the dam is 27 metres.

A huge reservoir holding 2,700 million cubic metres of water will soon appear at the juncture of the sea and the ri-

ver. It will not only help irrigate about 100,000 hectares of land but also enable ships with a displacement of up to 50,000 tons to enter port Nampo. The river Taedonggang, with its numerous shoals and sand banks will become navigable for a 200-kilometre stretch. Some sea-going ships will be able to sail up it to Pyongyang.

The designers also gave thought to those who will service the dam. A holiday home is under construction on Phi Island where the "looth of the dam" is located, that is, where the dam merges with natural rock. Also an orchard has been planted there, near the new lighthouse.

The Nampo dam is the most sophisticated hydrotechnical project on the river Taedonggang but not the only one. The river's water level is regulated by a complex system of locks. The programme of perfecting it spans years and decades to come. It was during a visit to the Ponghwa lock in the middle reaches of the river that I first heard of the long-term plan of linking the Taedonggang, that flows from east to west, with the river Ryonhunggan, that starts in the spurs of the same Pooktyabon mountain range, but flows from west to east. A hydrosystem linking the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan will introduce noticeable changes into the country's energy balance and make the surrounding fields more fertile.

The hydrotechnical line will run roughly along the 39th parallel. I have been also on the 38th parallel and seen a totally different line—the military demarcation line that cuts the Korean peninsula in two.

The 38th parallel gives much food for thought, for it is not a geographical line but a political phenomenon.

Only yesterday I saw the Nampo dam—a concrete wall



designed to bring people prosperity. Besides builders Korean soldiers also look part in its construction. Here, on the 38th parallel, there are also soldiers and they are there to defend the border. And I see yet another concrete structure—a wall stretching along the horizon and built by the South Korean army. It is also a "dam" of sorts. But what does it serve? What does it bring people?

"That concrete wall is a bitter symbol of national division", Lieutenant-Colonel Chol Dar Dek told me as we stood on the top of one of the hills near the town of Kaesong. There was sincere bitterness in his voice. From here, from this observation post, one gets a clear view of the green hills cut by the winding gray wall, five metres high and ten metres wide at its base. This wall is two kilometres away.

In the distance I see the observation posts of US troops and the South Korean puppet army.

There are many wonderful forests and parks in Korea. How people in the DPRK treasure them! But there is a stretch of trees that they simply dream of cutting down as quickly as possible—those that have grown between the tracks of the railway that some forty years ago linked the North and the South of the country.

Here, near the demarcation line, you understand that the problem of the Korean nation's unification is not an abstract political issue but a matter that is close to every Korean's heart. The Workers' Party of Korea

and the government of the DPRK have repeatedly made constructive proposals on ways to reunite Korea. The DPRK maintains that unification should be achieved by peaceful means, without any outside interference whatsoever, and on an independent, democratic basis. The withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea should be its primary condition.

The leadership of the DPRK has proposed that a single central government be formed consisting of representatives of all sections of the population elected in free general elections in the South and North of the country.

In line with Washington's stand, the Seoul authorities hold that unification should be effected via nationwide elections under the supervision of a UN commission. The main prerequisite is that the American occupation forces should remain in South Korea during the elections. In short, Seoul actually recognises the right of foreign interference in shaping the people's destiny.

On encountering the Seoul regime's obstructionist position the DPRK government proposed a number of preliminary measures directed at bringing the two parts of Korea closer together.

"I was still a small boy when my grandfather planted ginseng near the place where the concrete wall now stands," Lieutenant-Colonel Chol Dar Dek said. "I can't go near it now, but I firmly believe that peace will return to this land and that I will dig out the root of life."

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ALGERIA'S PRIVATE, STATE SECTOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SURVEYED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 86 pp 51-54

[Article by Svetlana Kulkova: "Socialist Orientation and Private Enterprise"]

[Text]

The legislative regulation of private national enterprise in Algeria is a major instrument of the government's economic policy, alongside the financial and credit system, tax and foreign trade regulations. It reflects both the government attitude towards the private national sector and the economic situation at various stages in Algeria's development.

France's colonial policy predetermined the limited development of national capital in Algeria. The emergence of a national industrial bourgeoisie was confined to the narrow framework of handicraft production and was hampered by many factors. These included the specific conditions of colonial competition the Algerian bourgeoisie was confronted with, the inaccessible level of original advanced capital needed to build large enterprises, and the policy of holding back the development of local processing industries, pursued by the former colonial power. There was practically no big national bourgeoisie in Algeria, while the petty and middle bourgeoisie was mainly concentrated in non-productive spheres. Specifically, in 1954, there were 30,100 craftsmen, 12,500 traders, 62,300 small traders,

4,300 businessmen, and only 1,500 Algerian-born industrialists.<sup>1</sup> The French economist, Marcel Egrélaud, provided data showing that the national bourgeoisie had a weak economic base. According to his figures, Moslems owned 90,000 industrial and trading enterprises. Of these, only 7 or 8 thousand employed hired labour and formed the economic base of the middle bourgeoisie comprising chiefly traders, real estate owners and small industrialists (recent artisans).<sup>2</sup> The remaining enterprises were run on the personal labour of their owners and their families. The European-owned enterprises hired some 320,000 workers, compared with the less than 30,000 working at Algerian-owned enterprises. The average income of the local owners of small trading and industrial enterprises was three to four times lower than that of their European counterparts. That was why private national capital had a low capacity for accumulation and extended reproduction.

<sup>1</sup> *Tableau de l'économie algérienne*, 1960, pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> M. Egrélaud, *Realité de la nation algérienne*, Paris, 1961, p. 176

The country's political orientation and its course towards the large-scale nationalisation of foreign property and the development of the public sector in key economic spheres have become factors considerably holding back the private sector under independence. Private capital owners preferred to use their accumulations for personal consumption. But the need to develop the national economy made it imperative that private finances be utilised for tackling national economic problems.

On September 15, 1966, a Code of Investment was adopted, which was to be a tool for stimulating private investments. The Code was the first legislative act regulating relations between the government and local entrepreneurs. The document allowed private individuals to set up enterprises and make investments in branches which were not vital for the national economy, such as tourism, the retail trade and the services. The government enjoyed the monopoly right to manage the key sectors of the economy.

A number of tax and finance privileges were granted to private investors so as to stimulate the transfer of private capital from the burgeoning non-productive sphere to production and to speed up the development of Algeria's backward and outlying regions.

The Code of 1966 thus legislatively defined the role and place of the public and private sectors in the economy and drew a "demarcation line" between them. The document affected the country's economic growth, though far less than had been expected. Whereas from 1967 to 1969 the volume of private investments in production grew from 36.1 million to 251.9 million dinars, i. e., by over 600 per cent, in the subsequent period, however, the inflow of capital dwindled. From

1967 to 1973, the total volume of private investments reached some 822 million dinars, this being 96.6 per cent less than government investments in industry during the same period. Among other things, this was because the light industry became saturated with capital rather quickly. (When the state monopoly on foreign trade was, by and large, established in Algeria in 1969, private entrepreneurs, who suddenly found themselves out of business, rushed into that sphere.) Other reasons included insufficient financial benefits and unfavourable technical and economic conditions for opening up new businesses outside developed economic regions, such as Algiers, Oran and Annaba.

On the whole, however, the private sector's opportunities have substantially expanded by the early 1980s. Private enterprises have widely penetrated the textile, leather and footwear, and food industries, as well as civil construction, tourism, trade (especially retail), and the services. From 1968 to 1978, the number of private enterprises in industry and construction has increased by almost 200 per cent. The private sector chiefly includes small and medium enterprises, yet it accounts for a considerable share of the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods. In the textile industry, for instance, private enterprises produce from 70 to 100 per cent of most types of commodities. The share of private business in construction and contract work amounts to 30 per cent, whereas in the services the figure is 63 per cent. According to estimates made by the Ministry of Planning and Regional Development, the private sector accounted for 35 per cent of the GNP in 1980 and employed the same percentage of those working in the non-agricultural sphere of pro-

duction.

By the early 1980s, the Algerian bourgeoisie has thus acquired a considerable capacity for ensuring extended reproduction in accessible economic spheres. This, in turn, has raised the need to establish tighter government regulation and control over the private sector. This was, in fact, the subject of discussion at the 6th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front (NLF) in December 1981. In keeping with its decisions, the government adopted Act No 82-11 on Private National Investments in August 1982.

The document provides for the active participation of the private sector in the country's economic development and sets forth the following tasks for it: providing new jobs; increasing the number and improving the quality of manufactured goods; developing retail trade; improving the services; replacing foreign-made goods with local brands; developing inaccessible, remote and backward regions.

Unlike the Code of 1966, the new law was essentially designed to coordinate the activities of private entrepreneurs, rather than to stimulate them. Of particular significance is Article 12 which says that concentration and centralisation of private production and capital are inadmissible and unlawful. The document has established both the maximum volume of private investments and the sphere of their application. For independent enterprises the ceiling is 10 million dinars, for those which are part of private business associations—30 million. Each private venture requires a license spelling out the investor's obligation to carry out the investment project. Various sanctions (up to and including the closure of the enterprise or court action) are

provided for by the document if the parties concerned fail to fulfil their obligations or shun them.

A special government body—the National Committee for the Orientation, Supervision and Control over Private Investment (OSCPI)—was set up in early 1983 to control the activities of private entrepreneurs.

As noted above, the new act is chiefly designed to regulate the activities of the private sector. Yet measures to promote private investments in the production sphere also figure prominently in it.

Apart from the easier taxation, private businessmen enjoy the right to receive any type of credit. Yet, as regards medium- and long-term credits, a ceiling has been put on bank loans of no more than 30 per cent of the overall investment volume as specified in the pertinent agreement. The only exception is made for the *moudjahids* (participants in the national liberation war). There are some other benefits for private entrepreneurs catering for foreign tourists, producing export goods or making foreign currency investments. Such benefits are specified in the annual financial laws.

In December 1983, the National Popular Assembly adopted Act No 83-734, supplementing Act No 82-11 and regulating private investments for the renewal of fixed industrial assets. The machinery and spare parts, worth over 25,000 dinars, come within the terms of this Act. The document is intended to expand links between private enterprises and the public sector providing that their needs are to be satisfied by state-owned firms or through joint import programmes. The Act's other aim is partially to replace worn out fixed assets at most enterprises. At the same time the document makes it virtually

impossible for private businessmen to artificially shorten fixed assets' depreciation period and thus increase prices for their output and receive surplus profits.

Relevant to the legislative regulation of the private sector is also Act No 82-12 on the Status of Handicraftsmen. According to it, a handicraftsman is a person who possesses certain professional skills and is directly and continuously engaged in professional productive activities using his own labour implements. He is entitled to hire not more than seven full-time workers (excluding members of his family and apprentices) and to make investments of not over one million dinars. All those within this category must, within a period of two years after the adoption of this Act, enter their names personally in the register and national card index of handicraftsmen.

As regards his rights, the handicraftsman enjoys benefits and privileges in taxation and in getting financial assistance, land, premises and equipment needed for his business activities.

Worth noting is a stipulation defining the terms under which a handicraftsman may be expelled from the register. It implicitly recognises the possibility of a handicraftsman becoming a small or middle-scale capitalist. The Act contains virtually no article preventing this process in any way.

The document gives prominence to handicraft cooperatives viewed as a preferable form of artisans' organisation. This implies not only supply-and-marketing cooperatives, but also production cooperatives. Socially, these must improve their members' working and living conditions.

Provisions pertaining to organising handicraft cooperatives were further developed in

Decree No 83-549 on the Rules of a Handicraft Cooperative. It says that a cooperative's initial capital must remain unchanged and cannot increase at the expense of its balance. This increase is only allowed by a corresponding increase in the number of its members or their initial shares. The balance is distributed, irrespective of the share, among the cooperative members, depending on their actual contribution to production. The cooperative has the right to deduct 10 per cent of the undistributed balance to make a reserve fund which should not, however, exceed the value of the initial capital. So, these provisions are intended to prevent small producers' cooperatives from turning into capitalist-type associations of private entrepreneurs.

Yet neither the Act on the Status of Handicraftsmen, nor the Decree on the Rules of a Handicraft Cooperative include any practical provisions to stimulate handicraftsmen to join in such cooperatives.

By now, virtually all legislative acts dealing with the private sector have been revised, changed or supplemented. To complete the picture of the legislative regulation of private enterprise in Algeria, a few words must be said about the procedure of purchasing machinery and equipment abroad. The process is regulated by amendments to the 1984 Fiscal Law which provide for some foreign trade benefits for private producers. Specifically, they are allowed to import 200,000 dinars' worth of new machinery intended for production uses and not for resale. With all customs duties and fees waived, the importer has only to pay local taxes. Characteristically, private entrepreneurs do without the mediation of state owned companies, which have a foreign trade monopoly on such imports,



and this does not clash with the law on government foreign trade monopoly.

In view of the difficulties facing the Algerian industry in this field, the above reforms are aimed at facilitating the import of spare parts by state-owned companies and at providing for a more flexible mechanism of supplying private producers with new technology without resorting to national foreign currency reserves.

The new legislation on the private sector made it possible for the national and regional license committees to issue permits for 452 private projects (valued at 1,352 million dinars) during the initial seven-month period of their functioning (from May 1983). This means that over 8,000 new jobs were created.<sup>3</sup>

By stimulating the development of the private sector, the Algerian government is seeking to solve, among others, acute economic problems, such as unemployment and housing shortages.

The food problem has become particularly important for Algeria in recent years. In view of this, the Algerian government was compelled to allow any interested private individual to acquire public land at a token price. This measure, the first in the history of independent Algeria to legalise the transfer of state-owned land to

private owners, is provided for in Act No 83-18 dated August 13, 1983. The land in question is in the country's steppes or semi-desert regions. It may be used for cultivation after some investments are made and reclamation work is carried out. The purchaser undertakes to develop the acquired plot in a five-year period, otherwise it becomes government property again. The law does not limit the area of plots to be sold.

The government explicitly spelled out its attitude to the private national sector at the 5th NLF Congress in December 1983. In his report, the General Secretary of the CC NLF, Chadli Bendjedid, said that the Algerian leadership recognised the non-exploiter private sector's right to existence and valued its contribution to the development of the national economy. He further noted that the state would continue to support the private national non-exploiter sector which has no ties with foreign capital and abides by the law.<sup>4</sup>

While encouraging private enterprise, the Algerian government is able to exercise effective control over its activities because the public sector owns the main sources of capital accumulation and the key sectors of the economy.

<sup>3</sup> *El Moudjahid*, Dec. 5, 1983.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1983.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: TRADITIONAL FACTORS, SOCIAL PROGRESS

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[Article by Nodari Simonia, doctor of Historical Sciences]

[Text] In recent years, the problem of the traditional in Oriental countries' social development has become unusually fashionable in scientific writings. There are quite a few reasons for this, in particular, a considerable revival of Islamic--and not only Islamic--traditionalism in a number of countries. In reality, however, such a revival of traditionalism and the active role it plays in the current political struggle is an older and more deep-rooted phenomenon. It is rooted in the period of the anti-colonial struggle waged by the peoples of the East, and also in the national and state construction that took place after national independence was won. True, during those years Oriental, particularly political literature, did not attach any essential importance to the factors of traditionalism. As a rule, they were examined within the context of the colonial and neocolonial intrigues of imperialism, and within the framework of dichotomy made up of the national and colonial features.

I should be pointed out that in the rather voluminous literature dealing with the traditional in the developing countries one may come across an insufficiently substantiated use and differentiation of such terms as *tradition*, *traditionalism*, *traditional structures*, and so on. In the literature on Oriental studies the *traditional* and *traditionalism* are sometimes identified with *tradition*. This gives rise to far-reaching, but unfounded conclusions about the existence of some positive potential in the *traditional*.

This is why it is necessary to define the concepts themselves. *Tradition* is historically determined customs, norms of behaviour, views, tastes and so on which are passed on from generation to generation. In other

words, this is an *extraformational* category. It may arise during the most diverse periods in the development of society and be handed down from generation to generation through a number of *formation* stages or *formations*. As part of the cultural heritage of society in the broad sense of the word, *tradition* can be progressive or retrograde, revolutionary or reactionary. Unlike all this, the *traditional* embraces a system of social relations and structures which has become obsolete *formationally*. Moreover, the concept of *traditional society* has a real meaning only within the context of such a *formational* aspect. One aspect of *formational* development consists precisely in the fact that every *traditional* society was once

modern and that everything modern becomes traditional one day.

We shall return to the concept of *traditionalism* somewhat later.

The enhanced attention to the *traditional* which made itself felt in Western sociology in the late 1960s is largely explained by the fact that a number of concepts and notions which dominated the sociological sciences during the early postwar years proved ineffective. These concepts and notions were based on the premise that after winning independence the former colonial countries would immediately adopt the models of social development of the already existing highly developed states. For example, in his recent monograph on the dynamics of modernisation in developing countries American anthropologist M. Nash sums up the stand taken by a large group of Western sociologists.<sup>1</sup> He holds that, despite all differences in the concepts put forward by various Western scholars, they are united in their opinion on the following issues: a) the European experience, including Soviet experience, served as direction, model or aim for the developing countries; b) modernisation was practically inevitable; c) the influx of capital and technology from the rich to the poor countries gave impetus to the process of modernisation which grew and will continue to grow by force of inertia.

However, experience showed that since those provisions were not completely justified, the scholars concentrated on the traditional factors and the search for the specific features of the social development of former colonies and semi-colonies. As often happens with a fashionable topic or direction in science, superficial contemplations verging on another extreme emerged among profound and important studies, i. e., the importance of the *traditional* was overrated and its true role in modernising Oriental societies distorted, although one should not reject every aspect of the former propositions.

<sup>1</sup> M. Nash, *Unfinished Agenda: The Dynamics of Modernisation in Developing Nations*, Boulder (USA) and London, 1984, p. 2.

For example, in my opinion, one should not deny the fact that the modernisation of the developing countries is inevitable. The question is *what* concrete forms it will take and in what *formational* aspect it will occur because, today, *bourgeois* modernisation (or Westernisation) is far from the sole alternative to *traditionalism*. It should also be taken into account that, in any event, the process of modernisation will objectively occur not in the shape of the direct and complete elimination of traditional structures and the latter's automatic replacement with modern ones but rather through a compromise, a synthesis. Within the framework of the latter, the antagonistic contradiction between the traditional and modern social structures under the aegis and in favour of the above structures will gradually be overcome.

It is self-evident that the developing countries could not successfully launch the process of modernisation without borrowing modern technology from the developed countries and without minimal foreign economic aid from and cooperation with them. In the reality of the contemporary world, due to the developing countries' forced "incorporation" into the system of the world capitalist economy, and on an unequal basis for that matter, they have to obtain technology and capital in the course of a persistent struggle against the neocolonial strategy of imperialism, and pay exorbitant prices for all that, which makes the historic terms of their modernisation even longer.

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Now let us try to answer the following question: can the traditional actively participate in the process of modernisation or even modernise itself? Here, in my opinion, the differences in the behaviour of the traditional, on the one hand, during the closing stage of the old formation and during the first phase of the new formation, on the other, are of great significance.

In the first case, i. e., throughout the whole historic phase characterised

by the decay of feudal society, the traditional stubbornly resisted the attempts of modernisation, having recourse to the entire range of methods of physical and spiritual violence, because if feudal traditional society were capable of bourgeois self-modernisation, there would not have been any need for political revolutions. However, it was precisely such revolutions that opened up the era of capitalism.

It is only after bourgeois political revolutions that the situation changes radically: the historical and strategic initiative in social development is in the hands of bourgeois forces. The *traditional*, which has lost its political domination, remains *traditional* under the new conditions, i. e., it does not all of a sudden acquire the ability for self-development. However, its once unshakable will for resistance is now broken, and succumbing to the pressure of the circumstances it is forced to join the process of modernisation to impart a most conservative slant to it. As a result, today we witness manifestations of the synthesis of the traditional form with the renewed—more often than not bourgeois—content in all developing countries. These are not merely old traditional structures but semi-traditional ones which have begun transforming and should therefore be denoted as *traditionalist* in order to emphasise their essential distinction from what happened during the pre-revolutionary epoch.

For example, if during the pre-revolutionary epoch the *traditional* was undoubtedly of a reactionary character in most simplistic terms, the *traditionalist*, in the present-day conditions, may be and is already of a different nature, as far as its class and political content is concerned. Together with its conservative, reactionary nature reflecting the interests of the exploiter strata, it may also express the spontaneous desires of the most diverse spectrum of the lower social strata, including anti-exploiter strata.

It follows from the above that the problem in the contemporary developing countries is how and in what

historical periods all this will take place, rather than whether the *traditional* is doomed to disappear as a result of the inevitable process of modernisation. The experience gained by an absolute majority of newly-free countries shows that this question is far from being easy, neither is it of secondary importance. After the revolution, due to quite objective reasons, not all *traditional* structures, particularly at the lower social strata, primarily in the countryside, could be immediately eliminated or transformed. It took decades of single-minded effort to modernise them. Even in those countries where truly revolutionary forces took over, the methods of radical break-up which were necessary and suitable during political revolutions were to be replaced by revolutionary reforms. When this objective reality and these demands were ignored, immense damage was inflicted on the new order, while the *modern per se* was filled with such a distorted by traditionalism content that it substantially (sometimes completely) lost its progressive character. One can easily find quite a few examples of that kind from the relatively recent past.

In light of the above, it is also obvious why it is harmful in practice, and not only in theory, to identify political and social revolutions despite the fact that the former is but a fraction of the latter. If one ascribes all the tasks of the social revolution to the *political revolution*, the desire may arise to reject and destroy the entire heritage of the old society. *Political revolution* is precisely the break-up of the structural elements of the old formation (political power, law, and so on). Without this break-up new structures are inconceivable.

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There is a highly important aspect to the problem of the role played by traditional factors in the social life of Asian and African countries, an aspect concerning the *traditionalist mentality* of the majority of the people. The question arises: is it only traditionalist political forces that can lead these people? Of course, not. It would

be appropriate here to remind the reader of the words of K. Marx to the effect that behind the adherence to the traditional it is necessary to distinguish the class basis.<sup>2</sup> There is such basis in the traditionalist orientation of considerable masses of the working people in Eastern countries, in which there has always been urge for social justice, egalitarianism, and freedom.

Historical experience and practice in the contemporary development of Eastern countries provide us with examples of the traditionalism of the masses being used by the most diverse political forces. Suffice it to recollect that the prominent Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi, succeeded in finding an approach to the broad masses of Indian peasantry, using the traditionalist form in his speeches and activities. This enabled him to draw the masses into the general vein of the contemporary, national liberation struggle, and made it possible for the Indian bourgeoisie to consolidate its leadership in that struggle, and, after winning independence, to seize political power. Ho Chi Minh, that great son of the Vietnamese people, displayed no less art and psychological skill and found the correct path to the hearts of millions upon millions of Vietnamese peasants. This enabled the Communist Party of Vietnam not only to win a victory in the anti-colonial war, but also to ensure that the national revolution would develop into a socialist one.

Such a charismatic leader as Sukarno (allegedly imbued with divine powers), broadly used the traditionalist mentality of the Indonesian masses in the 1950s-1960s. Although he did a great deal to secure the nationalist cohesion of the Indonesian people, the petty-bourgeois and utopian nature of some of his views and neglect of the problems of socio-economic development largely predetermined his defeat and the loss of the majority of the modest progressive achievements attained during his rule. President Zia

ul-Haq of Pakistan exploits traditionalism in his own manner in a bid to divert the attention of not only the broad masses, but also of considerable strata of the bourgeoisie away from the urgent problems of the country's social development, seeking to bolster up his military-bureaucratic dictatorship in the interests of big and monopoly capital and other conservative and reactionary forces of Pakistan.

Now that a persistent struggle to influence the masses is taking place in the majority of Asian and African countries, the problem is who draws the traditionalist masses into the modernisation process and how rather than whether it is feasible to do so. This problem is particularly acute during the social development crisis periods and this was reaffirmed, for example, by the confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution in Iran on the threshold of the 1980s. In my opinion, even in that country the outcome of the anti Shah, anti imperialist revolution, which we are witnessing today, was not fatally inevitable. The main issue at stake here is that the nucleus of the political revolutionary forces—communists, *Jedai* and *mujahids*—failed to establish a united front and preserve their initiative and political leadership at the first stage of the revolution. They handed the initiative and leadership over to the fundamentalist religious forces easily and without any resistance.

In this connection it is obviously useful to recollect the words written by Lenin during his preparation of materials for the Second Congress of the Comintern. In one of his notes Lenin wrote: "The use of medieval particularism? Too dangerous; not Marxist."<sup>3</sup> In his *Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions* in § 11 Lenin formulated even more definitely the need for a struggle against pan-Islamism and similar trends seeking to combine the liberation movement against European and US imperialism with the consolidation of the positions of exploiters and feudals.<sup>4</sup> It should be stressed

<sup>2</sup> K. Marx, F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vol. 11, pp. 327-328.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 144.



that Lenin recommended struggle against such anti-imperialist liberation movements which are linked with the establishment of positions of *traditionalism*. In this connection, I would like to deal in greater detail with such an important traditionalist factor of social life in the contemporary East as religion. The very fact of preserving its profound influence among the broad masses is the most significant manifestation of traditionalism.

Even now, some literature, primarily foreign literature on Oriental studies maintains that, unlike Christianity, the specific features inherent in Eastern religions, Islam in particular, hamper the modernisation of the respective countries. The majority of sociologists and culturologists who say this, base their viewpoint (to a greater or lesser degree of frankness) on the views of Max Weber, which were once rather popular in the West, that the specific features of the Protestant religion allegedly played a decisive role in the establishment of European capitalism.

Indeed, Protestantism did play an important part in it, since it was the ideological banner in all the first bourgeois revolutions of the 16th-17th centuries. This fact, however, does not answer the question whether religion is a source, a generator of bourgeois development or its role is reduced to assisting and forming ideologically the objective process of the establishment of capitalism. And this is the crux of the matter.

The overestimation of the role played by Christianity in the establishment of European capitalism stems from the methodologically incorrect approach when only one phase (albeit a highly important one) is snatched out arbitrarily from the general process of the evolution of society and religion itself. Here I mean the phase of the establishment of capitalism (after the first political revolutions), while the phase of its emergence in the depths of feudalism is totally neglected.

Protestantism did not start from scratch and its genesis has its roots in the deep-going social shifts which took place at the final stage of the

feudal society in Europe (13th-15th centuries). That epoch was characterised by the blossoming of cities and the decline of the feudal system. The power of the burghers was developing during that epoch. Under such conditions "Catholic worldview cut out from a feudal pattern could no longer satisfy this new class for it did not correspond to the newly-created conditions of production and exchange... All the Reformation movements and the struggle they spurred in the period between 13th and 17th centuries under religious slogans were, theoretically, repeated attempts by burghers, city plebeians and the rebellious peasantry to adapt the obsolete theological outlook to the altered economic and living conditions of new classes."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it was not Christianity that promoted the emergence of capitalism but, on the contrary, the appearance of the latter in the depths of feudal society that provoked a split in Christianity itself and the Protestantism's departure from feudal Catholicism. In the course of the 16th century Reformation. It was not the former orthodox and feudal religion but that basically renewed in conformity with the requirements of the emergence and rise of bourgeois society (Protestantism) that became the ideological banner of the first bourgeois political revolutions.

Further, the very fact of using and adapting Christianity to the needs of the developing bourgeois society is not linked organically with that new society. Functionally this is linked with society's transitional phase and the existence in it of considerable layers of traditionality. In his famous work *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* F. Engels points to two major reasons for the above-mentioned phenomenon: 1) "The Middle Ages had attached to theology all the other forms of ideology—philosophy, politics, jurisprudence—and made them subdivisions of theology. It thereby constrained every social and political movement to take

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 21, p. 496 (in Russian).



on a theological form. 2) Sentiments of the masses were led with religion to the exclusion of all else; it was therefore necessary to put forward their own interests in a religious guise in order to produce an impetuous movement."<sup>6</sup>

In other words, the synthesis of the religious form and the bourgeois content was a manifestation of a forced compromise linked, among other things, with the need to enlist the masses, with their traditionalist consciousness, into the process of modernisation. The great French revolution of 1789 took place in much more mature socio-political European conditions and this, according to Engels, gave the French bourgeoisie a chance "to carry through its revolution in the irreligious, exclusively political form which alone was suited to a developed bourgeoisie."<sup>7</sup>

These methodological provisions by Engels seem rather useful in analysing the religious situation in the East, of course, taking into account the historical specific features inherent in the formation of that situation. The main feature is connected primarily with the specific features of the establishment and development of a particular model of capitalism in its colonial and semi-colonial varieties. But it is precisely these factors that are most often ignored, and the entire attention is concentrated usually on the religious differences proper, which certainly do exist and play a role.

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It would be absurd to place responsibility on the allegedly eternal and unshakeable specific features of Islam, Buddhism, or Hinduism for the developing countries' backwardness. The real reason for it stems, first, from the general features of Eastern countries' socio-economic development prior to the European conquests; second, from their subsequent colonisa-

tion; and, third, from those countries' protracted preservation within the framework of the neocolonial division of labour after they won independence. If Christianity can really work miracles it is still unclear why none have occurred in the Philippines, which for more than four centuries has been developing along the lines of the Christian religion.

If one glances at the general religious situation, as it has been in the majority of Oriental countries since colonial times and up till now, it is possible to make out a somewhat approximate scheme of evolution and the changes in the role played by religion.

1. During the period of early colonialism religion was the banner in the struggle against foreigners but, socially, it oriented the struggle towards preserving or restoring the traditional social order. Hence, the deadlock of that stage of the anti-colonial struggle.

2. The establishment of colonialism led to the weakening of local feudalism and, correspondingly, of the political role played by local religion (this factor was often underrated).

3. At the concluding phase of colonialism, as a result of the emergence of the national capitalist pattern, nationalism, a new ideological factor, arose and the political initiative in the liberation struggle was seized by nationalists (bourgeois and petty bourgeois), although nationalism was emerging in close interconnection with the religious factor and, sometimes, even in a religious wrapping, all the more so since the reform of religion itself had already begun.

4. Political independence was practically won everywhere under the banner of nationalism and under the guidance of nationalist leaders. The actual failure in the majority of countries of socio-economic development within the framework of capitalist models borrowed from the West revived traditionalism under the banner of religions.

5. The crises of social structures connected with the uneven development of capitalism in Eastern countries were also a crisis of "classical"

<sup>6</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 373, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

bourgeois nationalism. Religious traditionalists, however, failed to seize the initiative. In countries which did not exceed the bounds of bourgeois evolution, military-bureaucratic regimes were established, as was state nationalism in the ideological sphere.

6. The new wave of social crises in some Eastern countries which were linked with the acceleration of the trends towards monopolisation and the formation of state-monopoly capital met, in some countries, a strong "response", in particular that of traditionalist stripe. In some cases representatives of the ruling circles themselves came forward with an initiative aimed at the formal and superficial traditionalisation of some aspects of social life.

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As far as general regional and historical prospects are concerned, there is no doubt that the objective global laws characterising the confrontation between traditions and contemporaneity will manifest themselves here, too. Of course, the future does not lie with the traditionalism and the forces which represent it. However, it is not out of the question, in the near future, that substantial outbursts of traditionalism are possible at certain stages in some countries with still powerful layers of traditional structures.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION'S PRESIDIUUM MEETING HELD

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 86

[Report by Valerian Sevryukov: "In Defense of Progressive Concepts"]

[Text]

Athens recently hosted a meeting of the Bureau of the Presidium of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), which was attended by the leading members of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. The meeting summed up the results of the year's AAPSO activities and endorsed programme of action for 1986.

The AAPSO leaders discussed the results of the meeting General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan had in Geneva, during which they reiterated their determination to look for ways of averting the arms race in space and of halting it on earth. Of fundamental importance is the joint statement, incorporated in the US-Soviet final document, on the inadmissibility of nuclear war and the renunciation by the two sides of attempts to attain military superiority. The event has created favourable opportunities for improving the international situation and returning to detente.

The participants in the Athens meeting adopted a special document—"A Message to the Asian and African Peoples"—in which they emphasised the importance of contacts between the Soviet and American leaders and drew attention of the public to the fact that the American side had not given up their Star Wars programme and continued to pursue its policy of undermining national liberation movements and of interfering in the domestic affairs of sovereign Asian, African and Latin American states.

In organising its many diverse activities in 1985 the AAPSO bore some important historical dates in mind. Last year was the 40th anniversary of the great Victory over German nazism and Japanese militarism. The international meeting sponsored by the AAPSO in Cairo, the conferences held by AAPSO bodies in Japan and Geneva, the conferences held by the Soviet solidarity committee in Khabarovsk and the seminar held by the Filipino Peace and Solidarity Council all pointed out that the Victory was an event of great historic importance and had a profound influence on the entire subsequent course of world history.

The participants in the Athens meeting stated that the AAPSO was guided in its work by the documents and materials of the 6th AAPSO Congress, which brought to the fore the problem of building a reliable barrier to imperialism's militarist and expansionistic machinations in the Asian and African countries. Of fundamental significance was the AAPSO's participation in the International Peace Year programme, the results of which are to be assayed in Copenhagen in October. The AAPSO is to make a tangible contribution to that programme by sponsoring the Pan-African Forum for Peace and Development in Brazzaville.

Apart from its general humanitarian importance, the struggle against the arms race is acquiring special significance for the newly-free countries. It is only the broad process of disarmament on a global scale that is capable of producing real opportunities for the economic development of these countries, for eliminating their chronic backwardness and for raising the living standards of hundreds of millions of working people. This point was particularly emphasised by Samandar Kalandarov, Executive Secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee who headed the Soviet delegation at the meeting. It was gratifying to observe, he noted, that the AAPSO and its leadership paid increasing attention to the socio-economic development of the newly-free countries. Being, above all, an anti-imperialist political instrument, the AAPSO can be most effective not within the framework of academic discussions but by actively expounding and defending on the international scene, including at the special UN forums, the more progressive developmental concepts and by persistently demonstrating their organic relationship with the problems of disarmament.

The participants in the meeting discussed the situation in the Middle East where the US and the Zionist rulers of Israel are doing their utmost to prevent the Arab people of Palestine from exercising their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own, independent state.

The Arab national patriotic forces and the members of Afro-Asian solidarity movement have important tasks to accomplish in 1986. In order to expose the policy of imperialism in that region a scientific and political symposium is to be held on the topic "The Military and Political Expansion of Imperialism in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf and Its Destabilising Influence on the Economic, Social and Cultural Development of the Arab People".

The AAPSO leaders mapped out ways of expanding the international campaign in support of the South African population's fight against apartheid and for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners of the South African racist regime. In this respect the AAPSO attaches great importance to the International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle Waged by the Peoples of Southern Africa, which is to be convened in the spring of 1986.

Opinions were exchanged on the problem of Asia and the Pacific. The US and its allies have chosen the course of militarising the region and turning it into an arena for military-political confrontation with the progressive countries in the area and its national liberation movements. Washington is pursuing the policy of the nuclear militarisation of Japan and South Korea and the establishment of a militaristic alliance between Washington, Tokyo and Seoul. At the same time, the US is seeking to turn Pakistan into its military-strategic base in South Asia and to destabilise the political situation in India, whose political course hinders aggressive imperialist machinations in Southern Asia. The opinion was voiced that another session of the AAPSO Presidential Committee on Security in Asia and the Pacific should be convened.

The forum heard an appeal to expose persistently the undeclared war waged by the US and its stooges against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to intensify the counter-propaganda offensive by the national solidarity committees on that issue.

The AAPSO also considered its concrete steps in connection with the forthcoming conference of the heads of state or government of the nonaligned countries in Harare.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

HUNGARIAN BOOK ON SOCIALIST ORIENTATION PROCESS REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 86 p 95

[Review by P. Vashtal of book: "A Szocialista Orientacio. Elmelet es Gyakrlat", Budapest, 1984, 201 pp]

[Text]

The book *Socialist Orientation. Theory and Practice* is a study of the socio-economic and political processes taking place in the young states which have opted for non-capitalist development. The work was undertaken by a team of Hungarian scholars.

The monograph analyses the general key problems facing the socialist-oriented countries, such as the external and internal requisites of the process, critique of the bourgeois interpretation of the concept, the conditions for economic development of the young states, and others. It also describes the specific features of individual regions and countries.

The authors of the book do research in different branches: philosophy, economics, political science, which makes their monograph comprehensive. It opens with a review of discussions held by Soviet scholars over the past decades on the concept of "non-capitalist development". Also cited are views given in Hungarian academic writings.

The latter half of the 1970s saw a growing differentiation among the countries following the non-capitalist path of development. Proceeding from the social content of the revolutionary process, the Hungarian scholars draw a demarcation line between developing countries following the course of a popular-democratic revolution and those adhering to the principles of a national-democratic revolution. They maintain that at the stage of a national-democratic revolution it is still possible for socialist-oriented coun-

tries to turn back. Given a specific situation, a progressive regime may degenerate, as was the case in some Asian and African countries in the 1970s, specifically in Egypt.

The authors believe that only a popular-democratic revolution can reliably ensure development along socialist lines. Characteristically, in this case, the formation of a progressive superstructure precedes that of the basis. If the latter is adequate to the superstructure, i. e., is also progressive, it predetermines a given country's progress along socialist lines. This is why the study of the economic situation in those countries and the correct forecast of their evolution are of particular significance.

The Hungarian authors emphasise that it takes a rather long time to achieve conformity between the basis and the superstructure, while the party and the government have a particular role to play in setting up the political system. The transformation of a revolutionary-democratic party into a vanguard one is an important stage in this process.

While assessing the historical prospects for the socialist-oriented countries, the authors point out that the capitalist powers do their best to prevent these countries from maturing economically and politically.

By contrast, the Soviet Union pursues a policy aimed at promoting economic, scientific, technical and cultural contacts with those countries which are of mutual benefit.

The monograph sums up the research carried out by the team of Hungarian scholars. At the same time, it is a starting point for further studies on the subject.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

MONOGRAPH ON HISTORY OF RUSSO-TURKISH RELATIONS REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 86 p 96

[Review by Yu. Rozaliyev of book by R. Mikhneva: "Rossiya i Osmanskaya imperiya v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniya v seredine XVIII-veka (1739-1756)" [Russia and the Ottoman Empire in International Relations in the Mid-18th Century], Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1985, 184 pp]

[Text]

Russo-Turkish relations are the subject of wide speculation by bourgeois authors in Western Europe and the US. They seek to "modernise" the past, to make laymen believe that it is necessary "to defend" Turkey from the "Russian threat", and, with this aim in view, to incorporate it into the Pentagon strategic plans. There is a great deal of writings giving a one-sided and often false interpretation of the conflicts between tsarist Russia and padishah Turkey.

Unfortunately, Soviet and Marxist literature in general on this issue is rather limited. This fact makes the monograph under review, by young Bulgarian researcher Rumyana Mikhneva, of particular importance. Mikhneva depicts the whole complex of past events and the significance of individual factors, within the framework of a general trend in the development of relations between the two countries.

The monograph analyses diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey in peace time (1739-1756) against the background of the international situation prior to the Seven-Year War. After the death of Peter the Great, Russia persistently made great efforts to overcome the numerous intrigues staged by French and Swedish diplomacy, and by the war advocates at the Sultan's court. It worked for peace and tranquillity on its southern borders. Mikhneva speaks of the atmosphere of adventurism and lack of prin-

ciple that reigned at the courts of West European monarchies, which viewed Turkey arrogantly, in the context of their selfish interests. The "Eastern barrier" foreign policy doctrine, the brain-child of French diplomacy, did damage not only to Russia, but also to the Ottoman Empire, Sweden, Prussia, Poland and other states. Therefore, in the final count it was bankrupt.

The successes scored by Russian diplomats then in defending the national interests of their country, as Mikhneva repeatedly points out, were mainly determined by the fact that Russian diplomats thoroughly and comprehensively studied the socio-economic situation in the Ottoman Empire, which enabled them to outline the short- and long-term prospects. This knowledge showed the Russian diplomats up in a good light, as compared to those of the West European countries accredited in Turkey and allowed them to cut short the intrigues of French, Swedish, Polish and other representatives in good time. Consequently, the author describes the development of Russo-Turkish trade in the mid-18th century as being of major significance for their further mutual relations.

The monograph is prefaced by Soviet scholar, M. Meyer, and this introduction fully harmonises with the book's content. The academic community wishes Rumyana Mikhneva further success in her study.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S.-USSR SOCIAL SCIENCES COOPERATION DETAILED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 3, 1986 pp 167-170

[Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences V. Mikheyev, scientific sector, Soviet Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences and ACLS Commission on Ties in the Social Sciences: "Programs of Scientific Contacts Between USSR and U.S. Social Scientists"]

[Text] A Soviet-American intergovernmental general agreement on contacts, exchanges and cooperation in the social sciences, technology, education and culture was signed in Geneva on 21 November 1985. As an elaboration of the provisions of this document, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) prepared an Agreement on Scientific Exchanges Between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the ACLS in 1986-1990. It foresees mutual trips by scientists to acquaint themselves with research in the social sciences, and to conduct scientific work. The number of participants from each side, the order of participation and the financial conditions are determined. Annual meetings are planned between representatives of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the ACLS for the purpose of discussing progress in fulfilling the agreement. Its text was signed on 5 December 1985 in Moscow by Academician P. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and ACLS president R. M. Lumyanskiy.

Concurrently the USSR Academy of Sciences and ACLS Commission on Ties in the Social Sciences\* held its sixth meeting in Moscow. The meeting's participants discussed the results of the commission's activities in the previous 2 years and formulated the program of cooperation for 1986-1987. It was asserted that both sides fulfilled a significant part of the 1984-1985 program, coordination on which was achieved in May 1984 in New York. Joint symposiums and colloquiums, meetings of working groups and parallel scientific research were conducted, joint works were prepared for publication, and trainees, scientific information and materials were exchanged.

The principal areas of cooperation, the forms of joint work and the scientific institutions to coordinate research in the present and subsequent year

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\*The commission was created in 1975. Its meetings, which are held every 2 years, alternate between the USSR and the USA.

were determined in a statement signed by commission cochairmen Academician G. Arbatov (USSR) and R. M. Lumyanskiy. These areas of cooperation are grouped into 15 directions including over 70 topics and individual projects. The research directions embrace practically all of the main areas of the social sciences. They include international relations, economics, economic geography, history and archeology, development of the workers movement and social changes, ethnography and anthropology, philosophy, sociology, psychology and law, historical, philosophical and social research in science and technology, and information and documentation in the social sciences.

Dozens of the largest academy and university centers as well as national associations of social scientists on both sides will take part in implementing the program.

Soviet and American international scientists will continue to meet annually to discuss problems concerned with studying modern international relations--chiefly Soviet-American relations, with preventing international political crises, and with arms limitation and disarmament. They will also continue to discuss regional problems.

Plans were made at bilateral symposiums organized since 1975 by the Association of Soviet Economic Scientific Institutions and the American Economics Association to discuss problems concerned with agricultural economics, the economic effectiveness of scientific-technical progress, the economics of the nonproductive sphere and so on. Regular meetings between specialists in world economics and economic relations between the USSR and the USA will be devoted to the long-range trends in the development of new technology, and its influence on the world economy; to global economic problems of food, power, raw materials and environment, and areas of possible Soviet-American cooperation in solving these problems. The economic problems concerned with the arms race and disarmament are emphasized specially in the program. Debates on individual aspects of these problems will continue. Cooperation will expand in the use of mathematical methods in economic research (seminars, joint publications, exchange of trainees).

Geographers will focus their research on ecological and social aspects of environmental change resulting from economic activity and of development of resettlement systems in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution.

Besides holding traditional colloquiums on the problems of general history, there are plans for historians to carry out four research projects--in the areas of agrarian history, the political structures of both countries, historical demography and social movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries. A collection of archival documents covering the period from 1815 to 1865 will be a continuation of the documentary publication "Rossiya i SShA: stanovleniye otnosheniy. 1765-1815 gg." [Russia and the USA: Development of Relations. 1765-1815] (Moscow, Washington, 1980, correspondingly in Russian and in English), which has already been published in both countries.

Considering the importance of studying the history of World War II to the development of cooperation and mutual understanding between scientists of both countries, the parties agreed to carry out the scientific project "The USSR, the USA and World War II." Two symposiums will be carried out within the framework of this project--on problems concerned with development of the Soviet-American alliance prior to 1942, and on Soviet-American cooperation in 1943. The program also includes scientific meetings on a number of other topics, including on problems of the history of Soviet-American relations after 1945, development of Slavic and Balkan national cultures in the 18th and 19th centuries, Asian history, archeology etc.

One of the major projects of the program is devoted to studying trends in the development of the working class and the workers movement in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The work will be concentrated on the following principal topics: the working class and processes in world economics; scientific-technical progress and changes in the structure of the work force; changes in social awareness and organization of laborers (including methodological aspects and classification problems). A symposium will be conducted on each topic.

Ethnographers and anthropologists of the two countries will continue to discuss problems concerned with interaction of the cultures of the peoples of the world, and with comparative study of ethnic characteristics.

The program spells out the basic directions of cooperation among philosophers. Two are distinguished specifically--epistemology and philosophical problems of consciousness; the problem of justice and freedom in sociopolitical philosophy. Rather diverse forms of cooperation are foreseen, beginning with mutual trips for familiarization purposes and lectures, and ending with symposiums and roundtable discussions.

Special mention can be made of the project "Utilization of Free Time and Its Indicators" in sociology. This project foresees parallel research in the USSR and USA, computer treatment of the data, exchange of a predetermined set of summary tables together with analysis results, meetings of working groups and of a final symposium, and preparation of a joint monograph.

There are also plans for organizing cooperation in research on social structure.

Cooperation of psychologists of both countries in the topic "Cognitive Processes and Communication" is to conclude in 1986 with publication of a joint monograph. One other collective monograph has been planned--"The Problem of Development in Psychology." Regular bilateral seminars of psychologists to be held in 1986-1987 will be devoted to the psychology of communication, labor psychology, the psychology of creativity and control of movements. Collections will be published on the basis of the proceedings of these seminars.

Lawyers will carry out three research projects: "Participation of the Public in the Activities of Local and Republic (State) Organs of Power and Control



in a Federal System, and Its Legal Regulation," "Crime Prevention and Problems of Criminology," "Agreements of the USSR and the USA for Domestic and Foreign Trade." Empirical research will be carried out in the first project on the basis of predetermined methods. The theoretical and methodological aspects of this research will be objects of discussion at symposiums. The collection "USSR-USA: Problems in the Fight Against Urban Crime" is to be prepared in the second project. Results of work carried on in the third project will be reflected in a monograph titled "The Purchase-Sale Agreement."

A special subdivision of the program is devoted to historical, philosophical and social research in science and technology. It foresees seminars on the topic "The Ideas of Vernadskiy and the Earth Sciences," on the history of the organization of science, and on the ethical problems of biology and medicine.

Philologists are planning a vast research program. In particular, literary critics intend to create two joint works--"Leo Tolstoy and the USA" and "Mark Twain and Russia," and to begin systematic joint study of the most important phenomena of Russian classical literature and American classical literature of the 19th-20th centuries. Development of the topic "Literature and National Self-Consciousness" will be continued on the basis of the literature of the Latin American countries. There are plans for establishing contacts between Soviet and American scientific institutions studying Ukrainian classical literature.

Linguists included colloquiums on the problems of comparative historical linguistics, linguistic contacts and linguistic typology in the exchange program. The possibilities of carrying out a joint project on learning Russian with the assistance of computers will be studied.

Scientific contacts in the area of information and documentation in the social sciences will deepen significantly. Thus there are plans for devising a Russian-English information and retrieval language for one or two branches of the social sciences, for creating a selective annotated Soviet-American bibliography on textual criticism and carrying out other joint projects.

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WESTERN EUROPE

PAPER HITS U.S. ENVOY'S 'UMBRAGE' WITH SWEDISH MEDIA

PM161429 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA In Russian 14 Jun 86 First Edition p 3

[Article by N. Vukolov, "Specially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA": "What Has Irritated Mr Ambassador?"]

[Text] Stockholm -- It has long been a well-known fact that the United States adopts the pose of the "offended innocent" whenever just criticism is heard in other countries regarding Washington's unseemly actions.

U.S. Ambassador to Sweden G. Newell has not departed from this sorry tradition. He has taken umbrage at the Swedish mass information media and, in interviews with the leading newspapers SVENSKA DAGBLADET and DAGENS NYHETER, stated his irritation in plain terms over the fact that local press, radio, and television are carrying critical remarks aimed at Washington's actions. Its actions in Angola and Nicaragua, for example, where the United States is supporting UNITA groups and bands of Contras which engage in subversive terrorist actions against the peoples and governments of those sovereign states.

But in that case, what has happened to the much vaunted "freedom of speech" so paraded in the West, above all on the other side of the ocean? Somehow things do not add up here. However, if one follows American logic, the answer comes of itself: In those cases where the fire of criticism is aimed at the White House, such material is "taboo." Conversely, when this material contains slanderous fabrications addressed to other countries, it has to be given the "green light."

Indeed. Having read a lecture to the Swedish mass media and thereby deeming the edifying part of his speech over, Mr Ambassador suddenly completely "forgot" all the methods of "quiet diplomacy" (of which he himself is so much in favor) and loudly poured out torrents of lies against the Soviet Union, not in the least embarrassed using the pages of leading Swedish newspapers for the purpose. He set about trying to intimidate the Swedish reader by suggesting that it is the USSR that "threatens the security" of Sweden (and not only that country) and so forth. And with regard to Washington's aggressive actions in various regions, the ambassador claimed that "the United States has legitimate economic and military interests throughout the world."

It has really been said more than enough, but there is a great deal that G. Newell is reticent about, such as, for example, the fact that the waters of the North Atlantic and the Norwegian Sea are regularly plowed by American warships, on which cruise missiles are to be deployed. The U.S. ambassador naturally omits to mention that for almost a year now the USSR has carried out no nuclear tests, thereby meeting the wishes of millions of people on earth, including the Swedes, while the United States is not only continuing its nuclear explosions but has even announced its intention to repudiate the Soviet-American SALT-II Treaty -- which immediately aroused concern in Sweden.

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## WESTERN EUROPE

### COOPERATION WITH ITALIAN FIRMS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 86 p 4

[Article by G. Zafesov, PRAVDA correspondent: "Conversations in Milan"]

[Text] I flew to Milan at the invitation of the Italo-Soviet Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of the opening of its new trade mission. I was attracted by the possibility of meeting in one place and at one time so many representatives of the country's business world. Because, of course, it is by way of this chamber that more than a thousand Italian firms and enterprises cooperate with our country.

It can be stated with confidence that in Italy's business world there is a predominant sober-minded, realistic attitude toward cooperation with our country.

Finmechanica is one of the stars of first magnitude in Italy's machine building. Its cooperation with our country began with shipments of automatic welding units for Atomash.

"In and by itself, this order, perhaps, was not so large," stated Lorenzo Cienzzato, one of Finmechanica's leading officials, "but it became a unique milestone, which opened up a field of cooperation with the USSR for our firm. We not only deliver finished products but also carry on joint scientific and technical research studies with Soviet specialists. Here is another illustration. Over the course of several years Italtractor has delivered to the USSR bulldozers, heavy machinery for earth-moving operations, caterpillar tracks for tractors, and several other important components. During the past few years some 16 million dollars worth of such items have been delivered to the USSR."

The Italian Finsider Group has widespread connections in the international metallurgical market. Suffice it to say that more than one-third of its products are exported, while approximately 100,000 persons are employed at its enterprises. It is well known that the crisis in metallurgy in the countries of the non-socialist system has lasted for almost 10 years. Finsider, however, has managed to retain a favorable balance of trade. Vittorio Cavallari, the commercial director, makes no secret of the fact that, to a considerable extent, this has been facilitated by the Soviet orders.

"Strictly speaking," the general director told us, "this combine was born thanks to the Soviet orders. Now we can recall with a smile how, back in 1960, 'serious' objections were put forth against constructing a combine the sale of whose products was geared for your country. Life has put such skeptics to shame. A new agreement for the years 1986-1990 was recently signed. Nor can I fail to mention that at the plant which will be built in Volzhsk by the Italmianti Firm seamless pipes will be produced in accordance with your technology."

The press has hailed the future plant as "opening up gigantic new prospects for cooperation between the two countries." And this appraisal is in line with the plant's scope: every year it will turn out 720,000 tons of pipe and 210,000 tons of pipe billets. One can likewise understand the satisfaction of Italian business circles, which were able to beat out competitors from the FRG and Japan in the competition to obtain this order.

We discussed the topic of economic cooperation between Italy and the USSR with Aldo Piccinini, the president of a consortium of cooperatives. This is an organization which unites more than 100 medium-sized and small-scale enterprises.

"We have been striving for a long time toward cooperation with the USSR," said A. Piccinini. "When the Italmianti Firm concluded the contract to build an enterprise for producing seamless pipes in Volzhsk, it invited us to serve as a sub-contractor. For us this is the first attempt at such a scale of operations in the USSR. We understand the responsibility, and we won't let them down."

This conversation with A. Piccinini took place in Reggio nell' Emilia--capital of the province of the same name. It is extremely interesting because of the fact that here there are other examples of cooperation with our country, thus showing how many spheres there are for the joint application of forces.

The city of Reggio nell' Emilia and its environs are situated in the Po River Valley--the renowned Italian grain-producing region. The G. and G. Group, which specializes in agriculture, offered its services to Soviet foreign-trade enterprises. After the conclusion of the appropriate contracts, a number of pig farms and cattle-breeding farms were built in various regions of the USSR. G. and G. Commercial Director Franco informed me that they already exist in the area around Moscow, near Leningrad, Alma-Ata, Novosibirsk, the Ukraine, in Belorussia, Moldavia, and Uzbekistan.

...Morning in the Italo-Soviet Chamber of Commerce usually begins with fresh telegrams. While we were talking with Emilio Rochi, the general secretary of this organization, they brought him two inquiries from Moscow: one was interested in firms specializing in the production of hemp fiber, while the other talked about soybean production.

"Five or six proposals arrive every day. The Chamber tries to help interested parties find one another," said E. Rochi. "It is also a wide road of cooperation between the two countries. It is wide and with very good future prospects."

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GSC: 1825/74

29 July 1986

## WESTERN EUROPE

## BRIEFS

KKE-CPSU SEMINAR--A 2-week Soviet-Greek seminar, devoted to the historic significance of the 27th CPSU Congress, in which 25 ideological workers from the greek Communist Party Center for Marxist Studies participated was held in Moscow and Leningrad. The seminar was organized by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Questions linked with the CPSU's strategic course aimed at accelerating the USSR's socioeconomic development and further improving socialist society were examined. It was noted that all progressive and peace-loving forces support the program advanced by the Soviet Union for eliminating nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction and the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives. Keynote reports and papers analyzed new phenomena in world social development and the ideological struggle in light of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. It was stressed that the 27th CPSU Congress' tenets and conclusions enriched Marxist-Leninist theory by creatively applying it to the solution of today's problems. [Text] [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 May 86 First Edition p 4 PM] /12624

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**EASTERN EUROPE**

**USSR-CCSR: TRADE AGREEMENT 1986-1990**

**Moscow FOREIGN TRADE** in English No 5, 1986 pp 48-49

[Text]

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic guided by the provisions of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of May 6, 1970, and of the Treaty on Trade and Navigation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of December 11, 1947,

proceeding from the provisions of the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Deepening and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA Member-Countries adopted at the 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, of the Long-Term Programme for the Development of Specialization and Cooperation in Production between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of March 13, 1980, of the decisions of the Summit Economic Conference of the CMEA member-countries in Moscow in June 1984, and of the Programme for the Long-Term Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR for the period until the year 2000 of May 31, 1985,

considering the results of coordination of national economic plans for 1986-1990 and the specialization and cooperation agreements in force,

with the aims of further increasing the volume of mutual trade taking into account the international socialist division of labour, all-round expansion and deepening of trade and economic cooperation on the basis of principles of equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance,

noting the successful fulfilment of the Agreement on Trade Turnover and Payments between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the period 1981-1985, and taking into account the advantages of long-term agreements, have agreed as follows.

#### **Article 1**

In the period from January 1, 1986, until December 31, 1990, mutual deliveries of goods between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic shall be effected on the basis of Lists 1, 2 and 3 attached to this Agreement and constituting an integral part thereof.

The Contracting Parties shall take the necessary measures to facilitate the delivery of goods in accordance with these Lists.

#### **Article 2**

The Contracting Parties may specify and add in annual protocols, to be concluded before the beginning of the next year of deliveries, to the Lists mentioned in Article 1 of this Agreement. Individual specifications and additions shall not considerably affect the obligations as to the mutual deliveries of goods provided for by this Agreement. The Contracting Parties shall proceed from the relevant recommendations of the bodies of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance concerning the time-limits for the conclusion of annual protocols.

The Contracting Parties shall endeavour, with account of their possibilities and requirements to increase the trade turnover volume and expand the range and assortment of mutually delivered goods. In this connection, Lists 1 and 2 shall not be limitative. Soviet and Czechoslovak organizations authorized to conduct foreign trade operations may conclude contracts for the delivery of goods not included into these Lists or over and above the quantities indicated in them.

#### **Article 3**

The relevant Soviet and Czechoslovak organizations authorized to conduct foreign trade operations shall conclude between themselves contracts, including long-term ones, for the delivery of goods in accordance with this Agreement and annual protocols concluded on the basis of Article 2 of this Agreement.

The competent authorities of both countries shall take all measures so that contracts for the delivery of goods under this Agreement should be concluded in due time,

but not later than 60 days after signing the relevant annual protocol, with the exception of contracts which require different time-limits for them to be concluded due to the specifics of goods to be delivered.

#### **Article 4**

The Contracting Parties shall take measures so that machinery and equipment to be delivered under this Agreement should comply with the requirements of expediting scientific and technological progress, and shall also promote the radical improvement of the quality characteristics of all mutually delivered goods.

#### **Article 5**

Applying to all deliveries of goods carried out in accordance with this Agreement under contracts concluded between Soviet and Czechoslovak organizations authorized to conduct foreign trade operations shall be the existing General Terms for Deliveries of Goods Between Organizations of CMEA Member-Countries, General Terms for Installation and Extension of Other Technical Services Related to the Delivery of Machinery and Equipment Between the Organizations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Member-Countries, General Terms for Maintenance of Machinery, Equipment and Other Products Delivered Between the Organizations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Member-Countries Authorized to Conduct Foreign Trade Operations, and General Principles of Provision with Spare Parts of Machinery and Equipment Delivered in Mutual Trade Between CMEA Member-Countries and Yugoslavia.

#### **Article 6**

Prices for goods to be delivered under this Agreement shall be fixed on the basis of current prices of major world markets for corresponding goods according to the principles and recommendations adopted by the bodies of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, including those adopted at the 113th meeting of the CMEA Executive Committee.

#### **Article 7**

Payments for goods to be delivered under this Agreement, as well as all other payments of expenses non-payable under the Agreement on Settlements of Non-Commercial Payments of February 8, 1963, as amended by the Agreement on the Application of the List of Non-Commercial Payments and Coefficient to Convert the Amounts of Non-Commercial Payments into Transferable Rubles of July 28, 1971, with subsequent changes

and additions, shall be carried out in transferable rubles through accounts of the Bank for Foreign Trade of the USSR and the Československá obchodní banka a.s. (Commercial Bank of Czechoslovakia) with the International Bank for Economic Cooperation in accordance with the Agreement on Multilateral Settlements in Transferable Rubles and the Establishment of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation of October 22, 1963, as amended by the Protocols of December 18, 1970, and November 23, 1977.

Payments under credit operations shall be made in the manner established by the relevant agreements.

#### **Article 8**

Goods to be delivered under this Agreement may be re-exported to third countries only with prior consent of the competent authorities of the exporting country.

#### **Article 9**

Goods to be delivered in accordance with the existing agreements on cooperation in the construction of industrial projects, as well as on cooperation in the field of development, production and delivery of certain goods and extension of services, are included in the Lists attached to this Agreement.

Goods over and above the quantities stipulated in Lists 1, 2 and 3 attached to this Agreement shall be delivered in the amounts and to the values provided for in the same kind of agreements as above which may be concluded during the period of validity of this Agreement.

In addition, natural gas shall be delivered over and above the quantities stipulated in List 1 from the USSR to the ČSSR in 1986-1990 under the Agreement between the USSR and the ČSSR on Transportation Through the Territory of the ČSSR of Soviet Natural Gas to Countries of Western Europe of December 21, 1970, the Protocol thereto of November 21, 1975, and Agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the ČSSR on Transit Through the Territory of the ČSSR of Soviet Natural Gas to Countries of Western Europe of July 1, 1982, and Protocol thereto of November 19, 1985.

Deliveries of goods and extension of services under the agreements mentioned in this Article shall be effected under the terms and conditions of these Agreements.

#### **Article 10**

The representatives of competent authorities of the countries shall meet at previously agreed dates alternately in Moscow and Prague to discuss the implementation of this Agreement, annual protocols thereof and to draw up, if need be, the relevant recommendations.

#### **Article 11**

Upon the expiry of this Agreement its provisions shall continue to apply to contracts concluded during the period of validity of the Agreement but not fulfilled by the time of its expiry. The Bank for Foreign Trade of the USSR and the Československá obchodní banka a.s. shall continue to accept documents to make payments under all such contracts.

#### **Article 12**

This Agreement shall enter into force on the day of its signing and shall remain valid until December 31, 1990.

Done in Moscow on December 16, 1985, in two originals, each in the Russian and Czech languages, both text being equally authentic.

**For the Government of the Union  
of Soviet Socialist Republics  
B.I. ARISTOV**

**For the Government of the  
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic  
B. URBAN**

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**EASTERN EUROPE**

**HUNGARIAN-SOVIET TRADE PROJECTS DISCUSSED**

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 5, 1986 pp 16-17

[Text]

Last February the Hungarian Trade Representation in Moscow held a press conference summing up the results of Soviet-Hungarian trade and economic cooperation for the past five-year period (1981-1985) and tasks for 1986.

Endre Molnar, Chief Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy of Hungary in the USSR, delivered a report pointing out that over the previous five-year plan period the Hungarian People's Republic had made noticeable progress in its economy as a whole and the lively, mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union were a great help in achieving that progress.

The Hungarian-Soviet trade volume, envisaged in the 1981-1985 Long-term Agreement at the amount of 30,000 million rubles, has been considerably exceeded and topped 40,000 million rubles. E. Molnar stressed that the expanded trade with the Soviet Union had been achieved despite the sharp fluctuations, stagnation and even recession of world market activity. The Hungarian-Soviet trade growth

was a proof of the advantages given by planned, mutually beneficial socialist cooperation free from capitalist market fluctuations.

Meetings between Hungarian and Soviet leaders at different levels gave an important impetus to the two countries' developing and depending cooperation. At a meeting last September J. Kádár and M. S. Gorbachev stressed the need to increase the effectiveness of the two countries' economic relations and to search for and apply new forms of cooperation.

The Long-term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation up to the year 2000 (signed April 1985) outlined the main ways of promoting the Hungarian-Soviet future cooperation.

In accordance with the intergovernmental documents signed late 1985 Hungarian-Soviet trade over the 1986-1990 period is to reach 51,000 million rubles (in 1985 prices), including the 9,700-million-ruble level planned for 1986. The mutual trade structure reflects the economic requirements and

capabilities of the two fraternal countries.

The Soviet Union will continue providing nearly half of Hungary's needs in fuel and raw materials. More than three-quarters of Hungary's imports from the USSR will consist of energy carriers, different raw and other materials, machines, equipment of vital importance for the economy of that country. For its part Hungary will increase its shipments of foodstuffs, the light industry's products, electronic devices, etc. to the USSR.

Engineering products will constitute the principal part (60 per cent) of Hungarian exports to the USSR.

Specialization and cooperation in production plays a great role in the mutual deliveries of machines and equipment. At present 36 agreements are currently operating between the two countries' industries on specialization and cooperation in production, particularly in the motor industry, machine-tool building, agrochemistry and other fields. New specialization agreements on manufacturing some types of products with simultaneous modernization of production processes are under preparation.

One important aspect of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation is in the work constantly being carried out to raise the technical and economic level and improve the quality of mutually delivered goods. First and foremost this refers to engineering articles, consumer goods, medicines, pesticides.

During the last five-year plan period (1981-1985) Hungarian specialists modernized rural automatic

telephone exchanges. Now thanks to multi-channel communication equipment the number of lines in one cable have been increased; a tomograph has been prepared for testing, new types of portable diagnostic complexes are tested, a modernized version of the Ikarus city bus has been developed, etc.

About 20 maintenance and servicing centres are operating in Moscow and other Soviet cities to ensure long-time and efficient operation of equipment supplied from Hungary, to carry out guarantee and post-guarantee repair, give consultations, train specialists and supply all types of services.

In the current five-year period the joint efforts in building and reconstructing industrial projects in Hungary and the Soviet Union will be continued. In the past 40 years, E. Molnar went on to say, the Soviet Union has taken part in constructing over 100 industrial projects in Hungary. Between 1981 and 1985 the value of Soviet equipment shipped for the construction of enterprises in Hungary amounted to about 700 million rubles.

Mutually advantageous cooperation will actively progress in the current five-year period. Hungary will take part in modernizing the Likino bus factory, and also enterprises in the agro-industrial complex, the chemical, light and other industries.

The Soviet Union will further its technical and economic assistance in building and expanding the Paks atomic power station, in developing the chemical, metallurgical and Hungary's other industries.

Last December an agreement was signed on Hungary's participation in developing the Yamburg gas-field, on constructing the Yamburg-USSR western border trunk gas pipeline and oil-and-gas projects in the Caspian depression. Within the framework of this agreement the Soviet Union is to gradually increase shipments of natural gas to Hungary starting from 1989.

Under the agreement Hungary is to supply equipment, materials and other goods for the construction of the trunk gas pipeline. Hungarian enterprises will participate in building and equipping some oil-

and-gas projects in the Caspian depression.

Direct ties between Hungarian and Soviet enterprises will be strengthened. In particular, the agreement for 1986-1990 on cooperation between the Agraria Bábolna enterprise of Hungary and the Stavropol broiler association will further such direct ties. Under the agreement both enterprises will carry out joint researches to improve the poultry fattening process, streamline the production, increase efficiency. Agreements are operative on deeper cooperation in microelectronics, consumer goods manufacture.

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EASTERN EUROPE

DISCUSSION OF INNOVATIONS AT SFRY ENTERPRISES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 86 p 5

[Article by L. Kolosov, IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Seeking Out Reserves: A Letter from Belgrade"]

[Text] Problems of the economy are constantly in the pages of the Yugoslav press; they are spoken about every day on television and on radio. With regard to the entire series of indicators of industrial and agricultural production, last year's results were, as they consider here, extremely reassuring. However, there still have remained some unsolved problems which continue to disturb the widest circles of Yugoslavia's working people. Among them inflation ranks first. In analyzing the causes for the unceasing rise in retail prices, on which the inflation level is calculated in this country, a great deal of attention is being devoted these days to studying the activity of various enterprises and organizations. It is on the results of their work that the stability of the sphere of circulation depends to a significant degree.

It is well known that at the beginning of the 1950's the system of managing the economy here underwent substantial changes in the direction of its decentralization. At plants and factories, in agricultural, trade, and other organizations workers' councils were created which obtained considerable rights in setting their own economic policy. Not everywhere and not always, however, did the widespread introduction of the system of self-management bring about the anticipated results. To this day there are still quite frequent cases where flaws in the production activity, losses undergone because of the fault of this or that enterprise, are "compensated" for by economically unjustified rises in the prices on products.

In the economic surveys published in the press, as well as in television "round table" discussions on how to eliminate unprofitability in the country's economic life, criticism is directed, most of all, at the medium-sized and small organizations and workers' groups. And that is why the invitation to visit, as I was told, a "modest-sized, progressive, and flourishing enterprise" seemed, of course, tempting. All the more so in that what they were talking about was a printing plant (a production facility dear to a journalist's heart) in Varadzin.

...The city of Varadzin is one of Croatia's industrial centers, where up-to-date textile and garment enterprises have grown into this country's largest



production association. Named the Varteks, it has a wide outlet in foreign markets, including the Soviet market as well. The printing plant to which I was invited is also included within the above-mentioned association under the same name. At one time it was a small, cottage-type, "subsidiary (private) enterprise," carrying out small, internal orders, basically technical in nature. But then it gathered force and became a fully entitled member of the association, an independent production unit with its own (and quite good-sized) working capital and business connections which go far beyond the country's borders. It is now a large printing enterprise, printing books, journals, catalogues, advertising, and other products. It was here that, for the first time in this country, that the new principle of photo-typesetting using electronic technology was put into practice. Up-to-date printing equipment has ensured solid orders, which have begun to come in even from such countries as the FRG, France, and Italy, especially for small-circulation but expensive books on art.

"How did we become profitable?" The director of the printing plant, Engineer Nedeljko Obradovic, having thus repeated my question, quickly replied as follows: "It's very simple. We cut out all superfluous expenditures. Here now, for example, my two deputies and I gave up our personal chauffeurs; we drive our service cars ourselves. Just think, we have made a saving of three units .... But seriously now, we really have reduced administrative expenditures to a minimum. There are only 120 persons employed at this printing plant, including 12 management personnel--that is the minimum without which we could not get by. All these managers are printers by trade, and they perform not only administrative but also engineering-technical functions. We gave up our book-keepers and accountants, replacing them with computers, which are managed by just one engineer. By the way, half of all the employees at Varteks have a secondary technical education, while 15 persons have a higher education in printing. The remainder are young workers, who are taking mandatory courses in order to upgrade their skills."

"We have a very careful attitude toward our personnel," continued the director. "We attempt to motivate them morally and materially. For every year worked the employees receive a half-percent bonus on their wages. It was 15 years ago that this printing plant emerged as an independent enterprise. The average age of the employees is 32 years. Their youthful enthusiasm has helped us to solve many difficult problems. Here, for example, by December of last year we were supposed to turn out 4.5 billion dinars worth of products in accordance with the plan. But the orders were even greater than this, and the group decided to work in two shifts of 12 hours each. We turned out more than double the amount which had been assigned to us by the plan. Naturally, this was appropriately reflected in the wages as well. We were greatly helped by the pensioners who joined in to complete this work."

"But you can't get far on experience and enthusiasm alone without new equipment. We ruthlessly discard everything which is obsolete; we take chances, even losses, but we introduce the very latest printing equipment, which we purchase abroad by means of the non-currency funds received from exporting our own products. It must be said that during the last five years this printing plant has made such rapid strides forward that it is becoming more and more difficult to work with the former ideas and skills. Therefore, we must re-train ourselves and study as we proceed, along with keeping track of all the



innovations which are appearing in other countries. We are prepared for this, and such specialists are already working at our plant."

"Introducing new equipment is a complicated problem, frequently giving headaches connected with the possibilities of incurring losses due to the restructuring of operations. How is this being received in your group, and don't conflicts sometimes arise?"

"But why should such conflicts arise?" replied N. Obradovic. "In case of a failure, you know, there is nobody here to cover our losses. We have to pay for our own mistakes, and that process is extremely unpleasant. Of course, we also had our skeptics, who suggested that we should not be in a hurry to reorganize, that we should hold off on purchasing expensive equipment and see how business conditions might change: perhaps there would be the possibility of raising the prices on our products. But our operating experience has shown that to place one's hopes on the caprices of the market is quite unreliable. In the final analysis, everything is decided by labor productivity, and to raise the latter without introducing new equipment is practically impossible. Such an opinion is now adhered to by our entire group."

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

REVIEW OF JOURNAL LATINSKAYA AMERIKA NO 3, 1986

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 1 Apr 86 pp 1-4

[Text] Y. Korolev is running his article "A Revolutionary and Democratic Perspective: Some Aspects of an Analysis of the Transition Period." The experience of the Latin American revolutionary movement in the late 60's-early 70's, the author writes, has indicated that broad popular alliances and coalitions of left-wing political parties can pursue effective policies in their bid for power. The Chilean left-wing coalition succeeded in forming a government. The popular front in Uruguay had a good chance of coming to power. What distinguished such democratic, anti-imperialist associations was their reliance on the support of mass organizations of the working people, including trade unions, peasant associations, etc. But all of them had one weak point: far from all coalition members were consistent in trying to stand by their commitments ensuing from the joint program adopted by the coalition. Thus, the primary task faced by the revolutionary-democratic vanguard is not only to safeguard unity in the left-wing camp but also to seek forms for activating its political organizations and spare no efforts to promote the common cause. One of these forms is the ability of the vanguard to incorporate in its basic demands the most crucial provisions of the program advanced by its political partners, something that may help it to continue to wield influence with the masses even after quitting the coalition.

During a transition period the problem of the state remains crucial, Korolev says. Its solution depends on whether the revolutionary authority has developed any vital forms of organization which can be an alternative to exploitative functions of the state. The old government system can be destroyed only when the revolutionary movement contrasts it with its own forms of government whose underlying, distinguishing features were highlighted by Vladimir Lenin. So far history has offered no other lever for the advent of a revolutionary democratic regime to power. Attempts to use bourgeois democratic institutions for the purpose have invariably failed.

The raw material producing potential of a region and the struggle for economic independence is the subject of I. Lomashov's article.

Metallic ores make up the bulk of Latin America's mineral and raw material potential. In the capitalist world the continent accounts for about 20



percent of ferrous and alloying metal ores, about 30 percent of non-ferrous metal ores and over 60 percent of rare and trace elements. It has more than 80 percent of niobium reserves, over 40 percent of beryllium, copper and silver reserves, over 30 percent of antimony and graphite, more than 20 percent of iron ores, bauxites, tin and sulphur, as well as a large share of lead, zinc, tungsten and several other minerals.

Latin America, which abounds in all kinds of minerals and cheap manpower, has long been whetting the appetites of foreign corporations operating on an international scale. On top of the list are American transnationals, including Anaconda Co., Kennecott, American Metal Smelting, Newmont Mining Corporation, Aluminium Company of America, etc. By the late 60's some 20 companies had controlled over 80 percent of Latin America's production of copper, manganese, sulphur, graphite and fluorite, 70 percent of bauxites and iron ore, and 65 percent of lead and zinc.

With transnationals being ousted from Latin America, local mining industries, both public and private, seem to be playing an ever greater role. There is a large number of private mines on the continent, although most of them are small. Their share in the overall output of mining and quarrying varies from country to country: in Brazil it accounted for about 50 percent in the early 80's, in Peru for about 40 percent, in Bolivia for 30 percent or so and in other countries for less than 30 percent.

Some achievements scored by Latin American countries in their bid to cut transnationals' involvement in the raw materials sector of their economies (foreign corporations formally own less than 50 percent of shares) have not solved the problem of gearing mineral resources to the needs of development. The mining industry's heavy dependence on imported technology and know-how is still a major obstacle, as is the problem of world prices for raw materials. The journal publishes the article "The Position and Struggle of Latin American Women" by I. Shokina.

The author stresses that the process of the change in the position of women in various Latin American countries proceeds unequally. Working women face problems which are common for capitalist countries and also problems which are caused by the social and economic backwardness of Latin America. As a rule, the existing laws about equal pay for equal work do not operate precisely in those branches where women constitute the majority. Employers evade in every way the legislation which regulates the conditions of work and employment, for instance, the laws banning dismissals on account of pregnancy or the employment of women at difficult and night-time jobs, envisaging creation of special conditions for nursing mothers.

Over the past ten-year period considerable changes have taken place in the women's movement in Latin America. This movement has become much more active politically, has grown in width, has become strengthened organizationally at the national and regional levels, has broadened its ties with other alternative movements, contributing to the development of democratic and revolutionary-liberation processes. I. Shokin points out that the role of the international solidarity of women's organizations on the scale of the whole

continent has grown appreciably. In particular, this is evident from the fact that numerous national women's congresses and meetings held in Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Peru, Equador, Cuba and other countries have been held not under feminist slogans but under the militant comprehensive motto: Equality, Development, Peace.

The journal also carries the article "Mexico: the Specific Features of the Concentration and Monopolization of Production" by Y. Polivannaya, "The Mineral-Raw Material Problem under Conditions of Structural Changes in the World Economy" by A. Arbatov and some other materials.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN LATIN AMERICA PRAISED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 5-6

[Unsigned Editorial: "The Processes of Democratization and Washington's Reaction"]

[Text] The materials of the 27th CPSU Congress note that the increase in the role played by the developing countries in international affairs is a characteristic feature of the present epoch. In Latin America this process is considerably influenced by the course of democratization in a number of the region's countries, especially Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. Their formation (along with Peru) of the "support group" for the Contadora process, the intensification and expansion of their ties with the socialist alliance, as well as the sharp increase in the struggle for peace and disarmament, are becoming important factors in the improvement of the international political atmosphere. To a certain degree there is evidence of this in the nature of the emergency OAS session which took place in Cartagena; at that session the states of the region, despite a direct dictate by the USA, did not permit a breakdown in the activities of the "Contadora group." And although Washington managed to block the draft resolution put forward by Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and a number of other countries on the lifting of the U.S. economic embargo of Nicaragua (even El Salvador did not join the embargo), as well as to emasculate the content of other peaceful initiatives such as the establishment of an inter-American committee to monitor arms on the continent, the OAS resembles the White Houses's "ministry of the colonies" less and less. It is no accident that the 15th session of this organization, which took place after the emergency session, adopted a resolution about the need for the speediest possible restoration of democracy in Chile and once again raised in an urgent manner the question of restoring Cuba's membership in the OAS.

The significance of the democratic changes which are taking place in a number of the region's leading countries can also be seen in the meeting of finance ministers from the 11 states which make up the Cartagena group; it was held at the end of last year in Montevideo. To counter the American "Baker plan" an "emergency plan" was put forward; it reflects the current position of this group on the issue of foreign indebtedness to the centers, which grew 3 percent in 1985 and reached more than \$370 billion. This led to zero growth in

per capita income in the region and suppressed economic activity in the Latin American countries. The "Cartagena group" plan calls for new credit-granting conditions which take account of the inflation rate, for the extension of credit, for a reduction in the discount rate, for a reduction in the norm for bank profits and for number of other measures, which put the relations between debtors and creditors on a more equal footing.

The growth of the democratic potential for anti-American actions in Latin America prompts increasing alarm on the part of the U.S. administration. In the usual manner of "divide and conquer," official Washington is attempting to torpedo this process. Today particular attention is being devoted to Argentina. Taking into account the possibilities of the Argentine electronic industry, which specialists view as equivalent to the Canadian industry in terms of potential, the White House is making attempts to draw Argentina into the "strategic defense initiative." Similar actions are being taken with regard to Brazil. The Reagan administration is attempting in this way to obtain support for SDI from the leading states of Latin America and to exclude these countries from the ranks of those who are active champions of genuine detente.

The USA does not cease to exert influence over the "small" states in the region as well. The election of Christian Democrat Vinicio Seresio Arevalo to the presidency of Guatemala; his visit to a number of Latin American countries, including Mexico and Nicaragua; as well as his proposal to create a Central American parliament to promote a political settlement of the crisis situation in the subregion make people prick up their ears in Washington, where there has been approval for the doctrine of "low intensity conflicts" (anti-guerrilla actions and police operations along the lines of the Grenada incursion) developed by Shultz. It is no accident that of late there have been more frequent visits to the Latin American countries by emissaries from the White House, who have made attempts to develop there the so-called peace forces of the Western hemisphere, which would operate at the direction of the Pentagon.

Thus, there is an ever greater gap between, on the one hand, those stereotypes of action and thought which U.S. imperialism is trying to preserve in the region and, on the other, the new political realities which have developed and gained recognition south of the Rio Grande.

The 15 January 1986 statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, which put forward a program for the elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000, provide a powerful impulse for the development of these realities, and for the strengthening of a position of reason in the the region, a position which reflects the need for a drastic improvement in the international arena and for the non-acceptance of any antipodes of detente. The strength of this program's effect on the Latin Americans' frame of mind is judged to be both a real opportunity which has opened up to save mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear cataclysm, and a link between the processes of disarmament and the needs of development, including the struggle against economic backwardness of the developing world.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OUTLOOK, TASKS ANALYZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 7-13

[Article by Yu.N. Korolev: "The Revolutionary-Democratic Perspective: Some Aspects of an Analysis of the Transitional Period"]

[Text] The new edition of the CPSU Program notes that the non-capitalist path of development--a path with a socialist orientation--which has been chosen by a number of the liberated countries, opens up broad prospects for social progress. Their experience confirms that under present-day conditions, given the alignment of forces which exists in the world, there are expanding opportunities for previously enslaved peoples to reject capitalism and to build their future without the exploiters and in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of great historical importance.

The consideration of this phenomenon occupies an important place in Soviet Latin American studies. The growth of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution in Cuba, the victory of the coalitions of leftist forces in the Chilean elections of 1970 and the Bolivian elections of 1982, the lessons learned from the work of these forces, as well as the revolutionary-democratic experience of Peru in 1968-1975, the course of Nicaragua's national renewal, the struggle of the Salvadoran patriots and the new phenomena in the liberation movement of the Caribbean countries--all these are processes which require thorough study and clarification of the ideas which have evolved about the nature, content and moving forces of social progress in the region, and especially about the essence of the historical period being experienced by its peoples.

This period is defined, on the one hand, as a kind of "inter-formational status" for Latin America, which is characterized by backwardness and the preservation of traditional structures; the latter occupy a major place in the life of a majority of the region's countries and have not been overcome in the course of its lengthy membership in the world capitalist economy. Moreover, the gap between the traditional and modern structures of this economy is growing. On the one hand, the main content of the present epoch--mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism--exerts an enormous effect on Latin America's most recent history and on its attempt to overcome the "inter-formational barrier." When analyzing the upswing in the general democratic struggle and the revolutionary-liberation movements, it is essential first of all to note the growing role of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as the increased influence of Leninist ideas about the possibility of revolutionary-democratic processes growing into a socialist revolution and of overcoming backwardness, thus by-passing the painful and zig-zagged paths of development.



An important feature of the merger of the ideas of scientific socialism with the practice of the liberation and general democratic struggle in Latin America is that even if the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard do not head that struggle directly, it inevitably begins to display to one degree or another an anti-capitalist nature. This results from two circumstances. In the first place, a genuine resolution of the general democratic tasks and the tasks of ensuring national sovereignty is impossible without overcoming the dependence on imperialism. In the second place, the path of bourgeois-democratic transformations under conditions of dependence is losing its attractiveness to a greater and greater degree. The ideology of the working class and the activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which actively participate in the revolutionary-democratic process, exert an increasing effect on the anticapitalist potential of the popular masses and on revolutionary democracy. As a result the period which is characteristic of the development of a number of Latin American countries after the victory of the revolutionary-democratic forces acquires features which are typical of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

Thus, at the crux of the matter is the question of the maturity of the objective preconditions for orientation along a socialist path, i.e., the question of the level of social development and the combination of subjective factors which ensure advancement along this path. A multi-structured economy and dependence on imperialism are typical of all the Latin American countries. In a majority of these a state-capitalist sector has developed, which encompasses the broad middle strata of society (up to 30 percent of all the gainfully employed population), and results in the development of a major social base within these strata. Thus, the most developed Latin American states have at their disposal the necessary conditions for the construction of a socialist economy. This was confirmed in practice by the Cuban revolution, which was developed in a country which had, to use V.I. Lenin's expression, a "middle-weak" economy, in which there was a "broad" presence of small-scale and precapitalist structures along with capitalist production relations.

Consequently, the main task of the revolutionary-democratic forces in the economic sphere is to overcome the multi-structured nature of the economy. Even in the region's most developed countries there exists a small-scale sector, which is significant in terms of its extent, and which is represented mainly by the urban petty bourgeoisie. When he revealed the basic contradiction of the multi-structured economy in a transitional period, V.I. Lenin noted that it is not state capitalism which is fighting here against socialism, but rather the petty bourgeoisie plus private enterprise capitalism fighting together as one against state capitalism and against socialism. Latin America's experience confirms the correctness of these Leninist tenets. This contradiction becomes particularly acute because under the conditions of the transition period the petty bourgeoisie, along with other revolutionary democratic forces, is in power. In this situation there are inevitable disagreements within the government on issues of the economic reorganization which can have a pernicious influence on the destinies of nations. They are manifested most clearly in the financial and credit sphere. Small-scale entrepreneurs require credit to be oriented to the support of their enterprises, at a time when the proletariat needs to speed up the process of overcoming backwardness by the organization of large-scale production. The conditions for the granting of credit and other measures aimed at financial support of the small-scale private sector, as experience shows, by no means guarantee that these groups of the population will provide support for economic transformations. In addition, a policy of economic favoritism with regard to the petty bourgeoisie leads to the latter's constant demarcation, while in certain cases it weakens the unity of the revolutionary-democratic forces.

The practice of stimulating business activity by sharply increasing the population's buying capacity also requires examination. This practice, which at first glance is aimed at improving the living standard of the working people, under certain conditions turns into inflation, the emergence of a "black market," the growth of speculative operations and in sum, it leads not to an upswing in production, but rather to the appearance of new groups of the parasitic bourgeoisie.

As a result, additional preconditions arise for the acceleration of the process of bank capital concentration, which objectively leads to the increased economic might on the part of those forces which actively oppose revolutionary democracy.

The study of the economic development experience in a number of Latin American countries after the victory of the revolutionary-democratic forces shows that they face two complex sets of problems. The first is strategic in nature and related to the reorganization of the structure of the economy; it is aimed at ensuring technological independence and at having the given countries participate in the international division of labor on this basis. The second is "tactical" in nature. Today its content is determined not only by the need--under "debt crisis conditions"--to mobilize internal resources to resolve the urgent tasks related to meeting the essential needs of the population, but also by the need to strengthen the defense capability.

All these and other factors point to the need to discover new forms to overcome the multi-structured nature of the economy, to search for various semi-transitional structures in the building of the national economic complex and to establish the bases of an economy oriented towards socialism.

Closely related to the economic problems being resolved by the revolutionary-democratic forces are the emerging socio-political questions, which are determined by the new nature of the class struggle, by the growth of the masses' role in social processes and by the regrouping of the political army of the revolution. The period after the victory of the revolutionary-democratic forces is in socio-political terms a kind of crucible for the accelerated development of the subjective factor. For this reason it seems unfounded to posit the smoothing over of the class and the political struggle in the transitional period for only in this struggle can a new revolutionary consciousness be formed and can the new unity of the proletariat and its allies be developed. As the experience of the Latin American countries testifies, sharp exacerbations of the contradictions between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat are possible. This was manifested with particular clarity in the course of the Chilean revolution. That same experience shows that the workers movement was frequently susceptible to a syndicalist inclination, which manifested itself in two forms. In one case, under the pretext of prematurity the demands of an economic and political nature which are put forward by the workers are restrained as a factor subversive of the unity of the revolutionary-democratic camp. In the other case, in contrast, the realization of these demands is encouraged in every possible way. Under certain conditions both can lead to the loss of the vanguard role by the revolutionary-democratic bloc.

In addition, in order not to lose the revolutionary initiative the workers movement must carry out a flexible policy of alliances with other revolutionary-democratic parties, as long as they reflect the aspirations of the masses and are prepared for an uncompromising struggle for national renewal. The experience of political struggle in many Latin American countries shows that it is a mistake to reject an alliance with a party which enjoys the support of a segment of the working people.

The development of the socio-political structure in the region has led to the formation here of influential socio-democratic and leftist Catholic movements with a clearly expressed anti-imperialist trend. The social base of these movements lies primarily in the middle strata, which have grown significantly in recent decades. They include employees of the state apparatus (including those serving in the military), college instructors, school teachers, scientific workers, the creative intelligentsia, engineering-technical specialists, physicians, lawyers, etc. Consequently, the most important task of revolutionary democracy is to achieve unity of action with the political representatives of these strata.

The experience of the Latin American revolutionary movement in the late 60's and 70's showed the great effectiveness of the policy of broad alliances and political coalitions of leftist parties in the struggle for power. In Chile the coalition of leftist parties managed to form a government. The Broad Front in Uruguay had a real opportunity to come to power. One feature of these democratic anti-imperialist associations was that they acted with the support of the mass organizations of working people: trade unions, peasant associations, etc. However, their weakness was that not all the participants in the coalitions which were formed consistently attempted to realize the obligations which they had incurred on the basis of a joint program. Thus, the top-priority task of the revolutionary-democratic vanguard is not only to preserve unity in the leftist camp, but also to search for forms to activate all of its political organizations and to achieve the maximum output from its forces on behalf of the common cause. One of these forms lies in the vanguard's ability to include in its program demands the important platform positions of its political partners; if those partners leave the coalition, this makes it possible not to lose influence over the masses which follow them.

In the transitional period the question of the state remains of prime importance. As is well known, the resolution of this question depends on the presence and activities of the forms for the organization of revolutionary power which offer alternatives to the exploitative state. The actual breakdown of the old state machine becomes a reality when the revolutionary movement puts forward as a counterbalancing force to that machine its own forms of social management, the fundamental and distinguishing features of which were pointed out by V.I. Lenin. Up to now history has provided no other mechanism for establishing a regime of revolutionary democracy. All attempts to utilize the institutions of bourgeois democracy for this purpose have ended in failure up to this time.

In a number of Latin American countries the creative revolutionary work of the masses has also given rise to its own forms of people's power, which have proved themselves capable of influencing in a decisive manner the nature of the transitional period and of providing for the consolidation of revolutionary gains. These are the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in Cuba and the Sandinista Defence Committees in Nicaragua. In other cases a barely distinguishable but undoubted search has at times taken place for new forms for the organization of the people's democratic power (in Chile in 1970-1973, in Bolivia in 1971 and in Peru in 1968-1975).

Closely related to the problem of people's power is the question of building the party, the question of strengthening and at times re-organizing the revolutionary vanguard. The main point here is the Leninist teaching that the true vanguard of the revolution is that party which leads the masses not with but with deeds, which organizes them and develops the strategy and tactics of struggle which are optimal under the existing conditions.



Manifestations of ultra-leftism in the people's movement, as well as attempts by certain democratic forces to limit the social struggle, to keep the revolutionary process at the level which has been achieved and to substitute resolutions from above for the direct practice of the masses are inevitable in any revolution, as part of the process by which the masses acquire public experience. It is entirely a matter of the vanguard's ability to direct this contradictory experience into the general channel of creative revolutionary initiative.

The masses do not gain experience in governing the state only through the people's direct participation in the practical implementation of social transformations. In this regard the cultural revolution has enormous significance; without it there can be no successful completion of the tasks of the "second day of the revolution." This refers to a complex set of measures aimed at making the masses socially active, at searching for new forms of organization and self-government and at strengthening the social base of the revolution. Naturally this process arouses opposition from the privileged strata of the intelligentsia, the churches, the private universities and the schools. Under these conditions ideological and propaganda work acquire key significance. The experience of Latin American revolutionary democracy shows that the struggle for the mass information media is extremely tense in nature and the progressive forces do not by any means always manage to gain the upper hand. The local bourgeoisie has at its disposal well established channels and tested methods for influencing the mass consciousness, at a time when the revolutionary-democratic camp has an acute need for personnel, which is further intensified by the domestic ideological struggle. The history of revolutions does not provide examples of their victorious conclusion without the achievement by the liberation forces of an advantage over the reaction in the area of information. In Latin America the resolution of this question goes beyond the framework of domestic policy only because of the long-standing domination by the imperialist information services, which exert a massive and continuous ideological influence here.

The external factor plays an enormous role in the fate of revolutionary-liberation movements and in the development of transitional processes. The alignment of forces in the world arena has changed in favor of socialism and democracy; this contributes to the growth of revolutionary-democratic tendencies, and it promotes the growth of opportunities to conduct an independent foreign policy. In addition, the intensification of the crisis in the world capitalist system and the exacerbation of the intra-imperialist contradictions weaken capitalism's opportunities to suppress the liberation struggle of various peoples. The strengthening of the positions of the developing countries in world politics and the unleashing of the movement for peace and the re-organization of international relations also create favorable preconditions for the intensification of revolutionary-democratic shifts in the region. The expansion and emergence of new types of foreign ties are an undoubted sign of the forward development of the transitional processes. At the same time it is essential to take into account the fact that it is impossible to re-orient trade and economic relations in a short period of time as this involves the elimination of many obstacles both internal and external in nature.

Recently there has been a sharp increase in the aggressiveness of those imperialist circles which think that it is only through direct interference that one can preserve the world capitalist system in its entirety. Under these conditions the first foreign-policy task of the revolutionary democratic forces inevitably becomes the mobilization of the entire people for the defense of national gains. Thus, this tendency in the development of a democratic revolution becomes one of the important components of the world

revolutionary process. This constitutes an additional feature of the transitional situation in the region.

The analysis of certain aspects of the transitional period which is typical of a number of Latin American countries shows that the main factor necessary to overcome backwardness successfully is the organization of the masses for the development, intensification and defense of the revolution. The intensification of revolutionary-democracy's prospects is related not only to the strengthening of unity among the patriotic forces but also to its ability to unite the people and to make them a reliable stronghold of this unity. The guarantee of this lies in the long-standing thirst of the broad working masses for their freedom and their aspiration to build--using their own efforts and their own experience--a society which meets their ideas of equality and justice.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### RESULTS OF UN DECOLONIALIZATION DECLARATION, 25 YEARS LATER

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 61-68

[Article by T.L. Leonidova, Ye. S. Shaumyan: "For Complete Decolonialization in the Western Hemisphere"]

[Text] In 1985 the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly at the initiative of the Soviet Union, was 25 years old. The declaration triumphantly declared the "need to immediately and unconditionally put an end to colonialism in all of its forms and manifestations"; it confirmed the right of peoples in colonies to self-determination and independence, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle to implement this right, and it called on all states to extend to them moral and material aid in this struggle. The adoption of this Declaration became an historic landmark in the elimination of the colonial regimes in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the development of the national-liberation movement.

After the Second World War, when the alignment of forces began to change in favor of socialism, favorable conditions were created for an unprecedented upswing in the national-liberation movement and the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism from blows delivered by this movement.

The crushing of this system across the enormous territories of Asia and Africa was a powerful international factor which helped to unleash the struggle of the Latin American peoples for their national interests and rights. A majority of the peoples of this continent were liberated from the colonial yoke and formed sovereign states as early as the first quarter of the 19th century. Some small territories, located mainly in the Caribbean, retained their colonial status. Latin America's strong political and economic dependence on the Western countries, and especially on the United States, as well as some features of the colonial policies of the mother countries, served as a brake on the path of the liberation movement, and gave it certain specific features. However, in general, the anticolonial struggle in the region grew in the first post-war years, as it did everywhere in the world.

As a result of this struggle England was forced to abolish direct royal rule

of its colonies in the West Indies and to satisfy the demands of these people regarding the granting of self-government.

Frightened by the upsurge in the liberation movement in its Caribbean colonies, France also undertook measures to "renovate" the facade of its colonial regimes. In accordance with the 1946 constitution, which specified that the French colonial empire was renamed the French Alliance, Guadeloupe, Martinique and other colonies received the official status of "overseas departments," and the population of these territories received the right to elect deputies to the National Assembly.

While attempting to quell disturbances in its Caribbean holdings, Holland also carried out certain reforms. For example, in 1954 it declared the Antilles Islands to be an "autonomous part" of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, which led to the creation of the first socialist state in the Western hemisphere, the further change in the alignment of forces in favor of socialism and the growth in the role played by the young states in world affairs together marked a turning point in the liberation process of peoples. It was under these conditions that the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted in 1960; it marked the beginning of a decisive stage in the struggle of the Latin American and Caribbean colonies for independence.

A sharp political struggle preceded the adoption of the Declaration. At the 15th session of the General Assembly in 1960, representatives of many Latin American countries spoke in favor of the proposal to finally put an end to colonialism. Revolutionary Cuba took a particularly active anticolonial position. F. Castro, who spoke at the session, emphasized the topical and urgent nature of this question and noted that the time had come for the full and final liberation of all peoples from colonial oppression.

At the same time some states in the region followed the USA and other imperialist powers, especially on the question of concrete deadlines for decolonialization. Under U.S. pressure the Honduran delegation introduced a draft resolution of a counterproposal regarding the declaration; in essence it amounted to postponing the elimination of the colonial regimes indefinitely. However, the resulting discussion revealed the preponderance of the anti-colonialist sentiments. An anti-colonialist majority, which included the socialist and Afro-Asian states, developed and grew stronger, and in the end the Latin American states joined this majority. On 14 December 1960 they voted in favor of the declaration. Only the Dominican Republic, under U.S. pressure, joined the imperialist countries in abstaining from the voting. In 1961, at the initiative of the USSR, a special UN Committee on Decolonialization was created to monitor the implementation of the declaration; at that time it included three Latin American countries--Venezuela, Uruguay and Chile. As of 9 January 1985 Cuba, Venezuela, Chile, Trinidad and Tobago were members of the committee.

The 1960 declaration and the documents adopted during its development provided the national liberation forces with a clear orientation: to achieve a

complete and final elimination of the colonial system of imperialism. Significant results have been achieved in the implementation of this goal. For example, in the last quarter of a century more than 50 young states have emerged and been accepted as UN members. They included 13 states in the Western hemisphere.

The successes of decolonialization did not come by themselves. They came at the cost of an acute and tense struggle, and the apologists for colonialism try in every way to belittle the significance of that struggle. For example, the most common thesis of Western bourgeois historiography on the anticolonial movement in Latin America and the Caribbean is that there was no genuine liberation struggle in the region; supposedly there was only a gradual evolution in the status of the colonial countries thanks to the good will of the colonizers, who, guided in part by the 1960 declaration, "gave" these countries independence. However, history rejects such falsifications.

#### Young States of Latin America and the Caribbean (1970-1985)

Countries	Year Independence Was Granted	Date of Acceptance into the UN
1. Antigua and Barbuda	1981	11 Nov 1981
2. Bahama Islands	1973	18 Sep 1973
3. Barbados	1966	9 Dec 1966
4. Belize	1981	25 Sep 1981
5. Dominica	1978	18 Dec 1978
6. Guyana	1966	20 Sep 1966
7. Grenada	1974	17 Sep 1974
8. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1979	16 Sep 1980
9. Saint Kitts and Nevis	1982	23 Sep 1983
10. Saint Lucia	1979	18 Sep 1979
11. Surinam	1975	4 Dec 1975
12. Trinidad and Tobago	1962	18 Sep 1962
13. Jamaica	1962	18 Sep 1962

The struggle for independence took on acute forms in the British West Indies in the 60's. In 1961 representatives of the People's Progressive Party of Guiana (Guyana), which led the liberation movement in that country, turned to the UN for assistance. Although England and the USA decisively opposed it, the UN Committee on Decolonialization examined the question of British Guiana and recommended in a resolution which it adopted that this country be granted independence no later than 1962. However, England failed to meet the deadline for the implementation of this resolution. In 1963 it refused to permit into British Guiana a UN mission sent to discover the reasons for the delay in decolonization. In essence, the English authorities wanted to play for time in order to prevent further radicalization of the country's liberation movement. Only after a set of measures against the leftist forces was

implemented, including the overthrow of Cheddi Jagan's government, was Guyana granted independence in 1966.

In the 60's Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados achieved political independence as a result of a liberation struggle supported by the progressive states which were members of the UN. The following decade was also noted for the formation of a whole series of independent states in the Caribbean. England was forced to recognize the sovereignty of the Bahamas, Grenada, Dominica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. In 1975 Surinam (formerly Dutch Guiana) achieved independence, and in 1981 the islands of Antigua and Barbuda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, as well as Belize, achieved independence. British West India ceased to exist (see the table).

However, despite the significant successes of the national-liberation movement in the last 25 years, colonialism still has not been completely eliminated. At the present time the UN roster still lists 18 colonial and dependent territories with a population of about 6 million people. Nine of these territories are islands in the region of the Caribbean Ocean and the Atlantic.

Colonial and Dependent Territories in the Western Hemisphere (as of 1 January 1986)

Under U.S. Administration

Puerto Rico (3.24 million people, 1981)  
Virgin Islands (about 120,000 people, 1982)

Under British Administration

Anguilla (6,700 thousand people, 1982) (1)  
Bermuda Islands (54,000 people, 1980).  
British Virgin Islands (12,000 people, 1983).  
Turks and Caicos (7,400 people, 1980).  
Cayman Islands (about 18,000 people, 1982).  
Montserrat (13,200 people, 1983).  
Malvinas (Falkland) Islands (about 2,000) people.

In addition to the colonies included in the UN roster, about 10 other territories with a population of about 2 million people are still essentially in a state of colonial dependence. These holdings are not included in this list mainly because, according to the claim of the countries which govern them, they are "overseas departments," "overseas territories," etc. They include five holdings which are located in the Western hemisphere.

Territories, Not Included in the Official UN List

French "Overseas Departments"

Guadeloupe (about 330,000 people, 1981)  
Martinique (more than 320,000 people, 1982)



French Guiana (73,000, 1982)  
St. Pierre and Miquelon (6,000 people, 1982)

#### Under Dutch Administration

Antilles Islands (Dutch) (about 225,000 people, 1981).

The colonizers actively defend their lost positions and frequently even go on the attack in order to regain them. Colonialism is masked: it takes on increasingly new forms and appearances, and it acquires propaganda myths to the effect that colonialism ended a long time ago and that for this reason it is time to stop the anticolonial struggle. The imperialist powers propose a reduction in the activities of the UN organs which are concerned with decolonization issues; at the same time they plant puppet regimes in their remaining colonies, they suppress with force the national liberation movements, they restore colonialism by means of armed aggression, and they entrap the peoples of the colonies with the chains of economic dependence. Citing the existence of certain specific conditions of the small colonial territories such as their limited size, sparse populations and geographical isolation, these powers try in every possible way to hold back the process of liberating the colonial territories; they try to impose and legislate new forms of colonial and semicolonial dependence under the banner of such neocolonialist formulas as "commonwealth," "association" and "integration." And this is completely understandable. After all, direct rule provides the Western countries with unhindered access to the natural resources of the colonial territories, and it creates favorable conditions for their exploitation by the multinational corporations (MNC).

A report by the UN Center on Multinational Corporations (UN document A/38/444) contains data collected on the activities of the MNC's in the colonial and dependent territories of the Western hemisphere. Out of 2,000 MNC branches operating in these territories at the present time, more than half are in the Bermuda (1049) and Cayman Islands (339), where there are liberal tax laws. The territories which have economies totally dominated by MNC branches include the Virgin Islands (53), the Islands of Turks and Caicos (9), as well as Montserrat.

The sway of the American monopolies is particularly great. For example, in Puerto Rico they control more than 90 percent of the economy's capacities. U.S. policy in Puerto Rico leads to the increasing impoverishment of the population. The standard of living of an enormous number of Puerto Ricans is below the official poverty line established in the United States itself. The unemployed constitute 22 percent of the country's population.

A difficult social situation is typical of the French holdings. For example, the minimum wage for working people here is 20 percent less than the minimum wage in France. Every fourth young person in the "overseas departments" is unemployed, which forces them to go to the mother country to look for work. Every year 6,000-7,000 young people from the Antilles emigrate to France.



In addition to economic considerations, the imperialists do not wish to lose the small island territories, located in the Caribbean and Atlantic basins, because of their great military-strategic significance. It is in the interests of colonialism to strengthen the military presence in these territories to retain the military bases there. Thus, colonialism, while tightly closing ranks with militarism, creates a most serious threat to international peace and security. A vivid manifestation of imperialism's aggressiveness was England's use of armed force to keep the Malvinas (the Falkland Islands) in a state of colonial dependence.

In the course of the annual review of the Puerto Rican question by the UN Special Committee on Decolonization it was revealed that this island has been turned into a military beachhead from which the American "rapid deployment" forces can move into any region of Central and South America. (It is no accident that Puerto Rico was used by the USA for armed aggression against revolutionary Grenada.) Sixteen American bases which have nuclear weapons occupy more than 14 percent of the country's territory. The neighboring island of Vieques serves as a target for navy shooting ranges used for training purposes. The U.S. Navy carries out permanent maneuvers on the shores of Puerto Rico.

The Bermuda Islands are being actively utilized for military purposes (UN Document A/AC. 109/778). Navy ships from England, FRG and the Netherlands call here. In the southern part of the Bermuda Islands the United States has opened two new military bases, on which Pershing 2 rockets are located. U.S. military bases also exist on the islands of Turks and Caicos.

France also uses its "overseas departments" for military purposes. According to some evaluations, there are about 5,000 marines stationed here. In French Guyana a major center for the firing of outer space rockets (Curu) has been established, which also has military significance. France has not stopped testing nuclear weapons on the Muroroa Atoll in the Pacific Ocean.

Thus, the Western countries have important motives of an economic and military-strategic nature for perpetuating their domination over these territories. However, despite all of imperialism's attempts to suppress the liberation movement, the people who remain under colonial oppression are speaking out more and more actively in favor of independence for themselves. In its struggle the liberation movement in the region enjoys increasing support from the UN. Since 1967, for example, Cuba's representative at the UN has frequently introduced a proposal to include the question of Puerto Rico on the agenda of the Decolonization Committee, but each time the USA has opposed this initiative. However, in 1972 success was finally achieved with regard to including the question of Puerto Rico on the Committee's agenda. The resolution adopted by this organ in 1973 confirms the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in accordance with the 1960 declaration. In 1978 the Committee adopted an important new resolution on this question; prepared with Cuban participation and supported by the other socialist countries, it called on the USA to hand over sovereignty of the country to the people of Puerto Rico. A Committee resolution adopted in 1979 contained a demand for the U.S. armed forces to

stop using Puerto Rican territory. Every year since 1980 the Committee has confirmed in its decisions the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence. However, the USA ignores the opinion of the international community and blocks the demands of the anticolonial forces.

The well-known difficulties on the road to the genuine decolonization of Puerto Rico (in addition to Washington's imperial position) are hidden in the facts of the country's domestic development; as a result of U.S. colonial policy, it has in fact been turned into an inherited estate of the USA. Puerto Rico provides a classical model of an "industrialized" colony which has the world's largest indebtedness. The country has a strong trade and economic dependence on the United States; it is the world's fifth largest and the Western hemisphere's second largest purchaser of American goods. The deep socio-economic crisis forces Puerto Ricans to emigrate to the USA, where at the present time 40 percent of the Puerto Rican population lives. North Americans and Cuban emigrants constitute a large portion of the island's population. The country has two right-wing parties--the New Progressive and People's Democratic parties, which favor preserving the current autonomous status and even converting Puerto Rico into a U.S. state. At the same time there are forces fighting for independence. The influence of national-patriotic organizations such as the Party of Independence Supporters, as well as the Puerto Rican socialist and communist parties, is growing.

An acute struggle on the question of independence has broken out on the Bermuda Islands as well. Since 1979 there has been discussion here of a "White Paper" on the question of independence. The choice of future status for the Bermuda Islands is a subject of socio-racial conflict within the country. The main levers of power and the leading positions in the economy belong to whites, while there is discrimination against the colored population of the islands, which consists of 60 percent of the residents. And they are the ones who favor granting the Bermudas independence and who are demanding that their territory no longer be used for military purposes. Over a number of years the UN Committee on Decolonization has adopted decisions supporting the inalienable right of the Bermudas to self determination and independence in accordance with the 1960 declaration. These decisions are confirmed in the General Assembly resolutions on the Bermuda Islands.

The question of independence is being discussed by the population of the English colony of Montserrat. In 1984 the head of the island's government stated that his cabinet would try to achieve sovereignty. However, he emphasized that this was the government's long term goal. As an explanation for this approach to the question of independence references are made to the island's small population, as well as to the lack of economic potential to ensure the country's independent development.

In recent years the anticolonial movement in the "overseas departments" of France has increased. The communists are in the vanguard of this movement. For example, the Guadeloupe Communist Party calls on the population to struggle for democratic and popular autonomy as a stage on the path to the achievement of full independence. The promotion of this slogan results from the fact that many Guadeloupians still have strong illusions that they belong

to the French nation--illusions which have been fostered and supported for three and a half centuries. Some of the population fears that a complete separation from France will worsen an already difficult socio-economic situation.

The problem of independence is the focus of the socio-political life in the Antilles Islands. In the 70's the liberation struggle in Aruba increased significantly. As a result, Holland was forced to agree to grant self-governing status to Aruba as of 1 January 1986 and independence in 10 years.

Thus, the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are conducting a difficult struggle for the complete eradication of colonialism in the Western hemisphere. In this struggle they are counting on the all-around assistance of the Soviet Union. As M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted in a message to the participants in a special anniversary session of the UN General Assembly, which took place in October 1985 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: "The Soviet Union will continue to put forth every effort in the struggle for the complete and unswerving implementation of the Declaration...and will actively contribute to UN activities aimed at the final elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid."(2)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Until December 1980 Saint Christopher-Nevis-Angilles belonged to an "associated state." Since leaving the federation it has been ruled by a governor.

2. PRAVDA 17 October 1985

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## LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN

### U.S. HISTORIANS SAID TO 'FALSIFY' USSR-LATIN AMERICAN TIES

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 69-74

[Article by V.O. Grigoryeva: "U.S. Bourgeois Historiography on Soviet-Latin American Relations"]

[Text] In the 80's imperialism has undertaken a broad offensive against world socialism and the forces of the national-liberation movement in order to recoup socially and to seize the historical initiative. In the ideological sphere this offensive has grown into a genuine war. Latin America has been assigned an important role in that war. This explains the massive ideological influence to which the continent's countries are subjected by the imperialist states, especially the USA.

One of the main aspects of this influence is the falsification of the essence and nature of the USSR's ties with the region's countries. The American bourgeois historiography devoted to relations between the USSR and Latin America is extremely extensive. Two main lines can be distinguished quite clearly within its framework: a conservative line, which is openly anticommunist (G. Oswald, E. Strover, J. Theberge, R. Poppino, R. Leikin, G. Goldhammer, L. Goure, M. Rothenberg and others) and a liberal line, which lays claim to objectivity and a scientific approach (C. Blasier, R. Duncan, A. Varas and others). Despite the significant differences between these currents, they essentially defend the interests of American imperialism. This is manifested in its most open form in the conservative apologetics.

Economic ties are the focus of attention by absolutely every researcher specializing in the study of Soviet-Latin American relations. The representatives of the conservative trend defend the thesis that these ties offer limited opportunities. R. Allen, J. Theberge, L. Goure and M. Rothenberg try to show that "USSR trade with Latin America is insignificant and unpromising." (1) American Sovietologists constantly claim that this trade lacks economic roots because Soviet output is not in demand in the region's countries, while the goods exported by Latin America are not vitally important to the USSR. The incorrectness of such arguments can be judged by the fact that in a special UNCTAD Secretariat document on trade and economic cooperation between the Latin American states and the CEMA member countries the indisputable mutual complementarity of their foreign trade and economic



structures is emphasized. It notes, in particular, that "this applies not only to the structures of production, but also to the product mix of the exports from the regions, which undoubtedly complement each other both with regard to industrial as well as primary goods, but it applies especially to the dynamic mutual complementarity of the development needs of the Latin American countries and the opportunities which can be offered by cooperation with the CEMA member countries in satisfying their needs." (2)

Having taken as the starting point in their discussion the clearly false thesis about the unpromising nature and economic unprofitability of Soviet-Latin American trade and economic ties, the American authors try to accuse the USSR of hegemonism and expansionism. J. Theberge, L. Goure and M. Rothenberg assert that the "Soviet Union buys the output of Latin American countries exclusively for political purposes, which are decisive in the USSR economic policy." (3) In the opinion of V. Allen, the Soviet Union's goal is "to weaken the U.S. political and economic positions as a leader in the Western hemisphere." (4) Accusing the USSR of using economic cooperation to achieve political purposes seems illogical even to some bourgeois scholars. For example, C. Blasler, a representative of the liberal trend in U.S. historical studies, thinks that Soviet economic relations with the Latin American countries are not determined by the "interests of the world communist movement, by the needs of any given communist party or by the strategic plans of the Soviet armed forces." (5) A. Varas, another well-known historian notes that in its relations with the Latin American states the USSR always adheres strictly to international norms. Its economic relations have never had an ideological or political coloring. (6) Both of them agree that the USSR sees in Latin America an enormous potential market for machines and equipment. Of course, arguments of this kind, which are related to the criticism by the conservative trend of American Sovietology, do not help to reveal the mutually advantageous nature of Soviet-Latin American cooperation in the trade and economic sphere. The purpose of this criticism is to show the real opportunities and prospects of this cooperation as a process which carries a potential threat to the U.S. economic interests.

From the clearly false assertion about the political expansionism of the USSR the authors of the conservative trend draw a conclusion about the "imperialist" nature of the foreign policy course of the Soviet state. R. Leikin, for example, accuses the Soviet Union of following principles in its trade with "third world" countries which are supposedly "much worse and more hypocritical than the Western states and represent a model of imperialist relations." (7) He is echoed by R. Allen, who equates the foreign policy activities of the USSR and that of the imperialist states. (8)

The works by all representatives of the conservative trend in American historiography have in common the assertion that prices for Soviet-made goods are much higher than Western prices and their quality is significantly lower. Leikin, in particular, makes this assertion. He states that the Soviet Union receives a double advantage from its foreign trade operations because "Moscow not only raises the prices on exported goods but also lowers them for goods which are imported." (10)



In order to refute such assertions it is sufficient merely to cite the fact that on 21 December 1964 the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decision to abolish the customs duties on goods produced in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.(11) It should be noted that the conditions under which Soviet foreign trade organizations operate are much more complex; it was only comparatively recently that the USSR began to trade with Latin America on a comparatively broad scale. The people in the countries of this continent are not sufficiently familiar with Soviet products. In addition, certain circles close to the MNC's in the Latin American countries try in every way to put a brake on the development of Soviet-Latin American trade relations. However, even under such conditions, as investigations by a special UNCTAD committee prove, "prices for the goods which are exchanged between the partners are based on world market prices, and the quality of the goods meets world standards."(12)

The arguments of R. Leiken and his supporters are not backed up by any factual data or by references to authoritative sources. They give rise to objections from other representatives of bourgeois scholarship who are distinguished by a more objective approach to the evaluation of facts. C. Blasler, for example, points out that "prices for Soviet-produced goods are often lower than the prices for identical goods on the world market."(13)

In the area of financial policy even authors who have anti-Soviet leanings are forced to acknowledge the fact that Soviet credits have advantages. For example: "Interest rates for Soviet credits are significantly lower than Western rates."(14) However, this forced acknowledgement is cancelled out by the assertion that the period for repayment is much shorter and that the extension of Soviet credits does not amount to much because they are designated for the purchase of Soviet goods, which supposedly do not meet world standards. Moreover, these authors completely ignore the fact that the United States uses credits as a means to expand its markets for and deliveries to the continent of goods which hinder industrial development, while the credits granted by the USSR contribute to the domestic economic development of the Latin American states, and especially the establishment of heavy industry. In addition, the Latin American countries can supply their own traditional goods to repay the Soviet credits, which significantly eases their financial position. This USSR financial policy differs fundamentally from the policy of the imperialist states, which subject Latin America to increased exploitation in the sphere of international credit relations as well. The eloquent proof of this is the enormous foreign debt of the continent's countries. Thus, the real facts testify that the conditions under which the Soviet Union grants credits are fundamentally different and much more advantageous for the Latin American countries than the Western ones.

Some American researchers put forward the thesis that the USSR extends aid to the Latin American countries for the purpose of obtaining the maximum profit.(15) The groundlessness of these assertions can be seen by comparing the content of the economic contribution of the Soviet Union and the USA to the development of the region. It is well known that both states participate in the construction and utilization of industrial enterprises on the continent. However, the USSR does not participate in the profits of

enterprises built with its assistance, nor does it strive to obtain any benefits or economic privileges. The mutually beneficial nature of operations, which is the result of the Soviet Union's great economic potential and its enormous experience in the various spheres of industrial development, is ensured through the usual commercial channels by means of the opportunities granted by the international division of labor. At the same time an analysis shows that recently the American monopolies have increased their exploitation of Latin America and that they have sharply increased the volume of profits taken from the continent. In the first half of the 60's the annual export of profits to the USA amounted to \$1.27 billion, while in the following decade it amounted to \$3.55 billion.(16) In this regard, it is no accident that the USSR supports the just demands of the Latin American peoples aimed at the reorganization of the world economic order.

American foreign policy scholarship puts particular emphasis on developing the thesis of USSR hegemonism. And it is this thesis which determines the tone of the works by historians of both the conservative and bourgeois-liberal trends. For example, Leikin contends that the USSR consciously "fans the conflict in the strategic rear of the United States in order to tie its hands."(17) R. Poppino, in turn, claims that the real reason for the establishment of the USSR's diplomatic, trade and cultural ties with the Latin American countries "is the desire to deprive the USA of sources of support abroad."(18) J. Theberge (former U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua) in his work "The Soviet Presence in Latin America" states that in order to achieve the goals which it has set the USSR uses any means, including, "diplomacy, propaganda, espionage, economic and military pressure".(19) However--and herein lies the full irony of the research in this vein--the scheme which they have worked out is completely characteristic of the White House political line with regard to Latin America, of which the "Santa Fe document" and other official documents of the United States government provide evidence. One of them says: "The USA must establish supremacy over all the key regions of the world and over those which supply strategic raw materials." In order to achieve the goal emphasis is placed on the use of military force: "The use of force has always been a part of the historical process and we must not fear it...It is essential to defend American interests by means of decisive actions."(20)

In order to eliminate the obvious lack of correspondence between the accusations made against the USSR and the widely known basic principles by which the Soviet Union is guided in its foreign policy activity, American Sovietologists are attempting to prove that "in the face of real life many of the goals and ideals bequeathed by Lenin to the international communist movement have ceased to determine USSR policy...For these reasons the Soviet leadership snatches at any opportunities which it gets."(21) In this regard S. Chaston, B. Leffke, G. Oswald and E. Strover claim that there is no difference between the foreign policy of the capitalist and the socialist states. However the entire history of the liberation movement on the continent refutes this thesis. In the process of struggling for economic liberation the continent's countries resort with ever increasing frequency to the support of the Soviet Union. It is no accident that many Latin American statesmen, as well as other public and political figures, have frequently pointed out that for the states

of the continent it is vitally important to support the broadest and closest possible ties with the USSR. U.S. specialists on Soviet-Latin American relations are having to come to grips with this circumstance more and more often. A number of them have been forced to recognize that many aspects of USSR policy, for example the "rejection of direct capital investment, the unconditional recognition of the right of the Latin American countries to their nations' natural resources and the Soviet Union's willingness to grant assistance in the development of industrial technology, are attractive to the Latin American countries." (22) However, in this case too, the polemics between the liberals and the conservatives are set up not for the sake of clarifying the real state of affairs but rather in the interests of working out new tactical approaches to preserve U.S. economic supremacy in the region.

American bourgeois historiography assigns an important place--along with the study of the USSR's political and economic ties with the Latin American countries in general--to the falsification of the Soviet Union's position with regard to the Central American crisis. U.S. imperialist circles do not wish to reconcile themselves to the democratic, progressive transformation for which the Central American peoples are struggling. For this reason they attempt to isolate these peoples from the entire world community and especially from the USSR.

The explosion of anti-Soviet and anticommunist hysteria has manifested itself with particular strength in the USA as a result of the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua and the successful actions of the rebel forces in El Salvador. The bourgeois press has begun to print with increasing frequency the worn-out thesis about Soviet hegemonism and expansionism, as well as about the danger which the Soviet Union's relations with the Latin American countries present for the USA. Representatives of U.S. bourgeois scholarship from both the liberal and conservative currents have displayed a striking unanimity on this subject, following the government's official line. Such bourgeois scholars as R. Leiken, C. Blasler, J. Valenta, Ch. Mines, R. Stil and V. Vakey repeat--each in his own way--the U.S. State Department's judgement that the revolutionary movements in Central America are explained not by internal factors but by actions from outside and pose a direct threat to U.S. security. For example, J. Valenta goes so far as to assert that the USSR is consciously trying to draw the USA into armed conflict in El Salvador, pushing it toward armed intervention in order to create a focus of tension at the very borders of North America. (23) Ch. Mines expresses himself in the same spirit; he has "seen" that "the USSR's interests can, if the revolutionary movements are successful, be extended to the oil-bearing regions of Mexico and the Panama Canal Zone, thus creating a direct threat to the United States." (24)

In the process of forming these positions, bourgeois authors look to virtually a single source for support: U.S. State Department documents and statements by certain government figures. For this reason when the American press published revelations which cast doubt on the authenticity of the "White Paper on El Salvador," the groundlessness of the entire literature on this question became obvious. For example, in an interview given to a WALL STREET JOURNAL reporter, the author of the "White Paper," J. Glassman, acknowledged



that mistakes and conjectures were made in the translation of the documents from Salvadoran revolutionary organizations, and that some of the accusations made against Cuba and the USSR do not have a documented foundation."(25) And the WASHINGTON POST newspaper wrote directly that the "White Paper" contains "factual errors, clearly false assertions and discrepancies--all this calls into question the accusations put forward by the government (of the USA, V.G.) against the socialist countries."(26) In essence the authors of all the studies on which the "White Paper" is based have been guided not by the true state of affairs, but by the so-called Kirkpatrick Plan, which said: "It is essential to convince the most influential groups in the developing countries, as well as world public opinion, that any tendencies which run counter to our historical, political and economic experience are the result of international terrorism and carry with them the threat of the establishment of Soviet supremacy." (27)

Thus, the analysis in American bourgeois historiography of Soviet-Latin American relations testifies to its profoundly prejudiced and especially imperialist nature: regardless of whether the discussion is about political or economic relations or the Soviet Union's ties with particular countries in the region, the concepts under consideration are formulated not on the basis of objective scholarly research, but primarily according to the principle of whether they correspond to the goals of the imperialist forces in the USA. While researchers of the conservative current defend these goals by means of unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda, which presents the development of Soviet-Latin American relations in the spirit of "East-West skirmishes," the representatives of the liberal trend in American historiography and political science attempt to take into account the new realities in the development of international economic relations and on this basis to make amendments to the expansionist U.S. policy in the region.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### SOVIET-CUBA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY SEMINAR IN HAVANA

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 123-124

[Article by V.N. Lunin (Havana): "New Frontiers of Soviet-Cuban Friendship"]

[Text] Firm bonds of fraternal friendship and multi-faceted cooperation link the peoples of the Soviet Union and Cuba. There is virtually no sphere of life in the two countries which is not touched by the fruitful, mutually enriching influence of bilateral contacts and of the exchange of experience in the resolution of key problems in the construction of the new society. An important role in the strengthening of this friendship is played by the Society of Soviet-Cuban Friendship (SSCF), established in Moscow on 11 November 1964, and the Association of Cuban-Soviet Friendship (ACSF), established in Havana on 22 April 1969, the 99th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin. These two mass public organizations are constantly improving their forms of work and are looking for new ways to deepen relations. The ties between the SSCF and the ACSF are regular in nature, and they are carried out in accordance with five-year agreements on cooperation.

An SSCF delegation headed by A. Bekarevich, a member of its central board, was in the Republic of Cuba from 8 through 22 October 1985 at the invitation of the ACSF and the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples (CIFP). The delegation visited all the country's provinces and the Island of Youth, where numerous meetings were held with Cuban friends in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, at enterprises, at higher educational institutions and at schools.

The decisive feature of the delegation's trip was that, in contrast to previous mutual exchanges by delegations, the experience gained through the work of primary organizations--the SSCF and the ACSF--was discussed for the first time. And it has been at the initiative of these organizations that new forms for strengthening fraternal cooperation have emerged such as the organization of international socialist competition, the establishment of direct contacts between related enterprises, etc. The entire complex of questions related to the deepening of ties between the Soviet and Cuban peoples through friendship societies became a subject of all-around discussion at a scientific-practical seminar of Cuban-Soviet friendship, which took place in Havana on 9-10 October 1985.

Professor Soilo Marinello, president of the ACSF, opened the scientific-practical seminar. He emphasized that Cuban-Soviet friendship is one of the great gains made by our countries; it has withstood the test of time and become a national matter on both sides. For this reason S. Marinello noted the exceptionally great significance which the study, generalization and practical application of the new forms and methods born in the primary cells, i.e., among the masses themselves, have for the future work of our organizations and for the intensification of cooperation.

A.D. Bekarevich then presented a report entitled "The Historical Experience and Prospects of Soviet-Cuban Friendship and Cooperation." Soviet-Cuban friendship, he emphasized, has deep roots; it was forged in the solidarity of the Cuban working people with the Homeland of October and with the heroic struggle of the Soviet people in the years of the Great Patriotic War, as well as in the support and class solidarity of the Country of the Soviets with the self-sacrificing struggle of the Cuban people against imperialism and for their social liberation. The victory of the Cuban revolution opened up a qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet-Cuban relations. Relations based on the principles of socialist internationalism and fraternal cooperation have been established between our peoples and states and are being developed in a comprehensive manner. The report contained an analysis of the role of Soviet social organizations in strengthening the friendship and cultural cooperation with the Cuban people. In conclusion A.D. Bekarevich emphasized that the 27th CPSU Congress and the 3d Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba will determine the horizons of Soviet-Cuban relations and provide a new impulse for the development of ties between Soviet and Cuban social organizations.

At the seminar it was noted that the friendship societies rely for their support on an exceptionally broad base: at the present time the SSCF has republic, municipal and oblast-level divisions, which bring together more than 1,000 primary organizations at factories, plants, kolkhoz's, sovkhos's, higher educational institutions, schools, ocean-going ships, etc. And the ACSF has 13 branches and 780 collective members. The work forms which are widely used by the Society and the Association include lectures, parties, meetings of Cuban and Soviet communities, solidarity rallies, conferences, etc.

Cuban scholars and specialists presented to the seminar participants a cycle of lectures on the building of socialism and on Cuban foreign policy. In summing up the results of the two-day work of the seminar, S. Marinello said that the discussion of the diverse forms of work of the SSCF and the ACSF and their primary organizations has made it possible to reveal existing reserves and opportunities to strengthen the all-around development of Soviet-Cuban friendship and to raise this work to a qualitatively new level. All the seminar participants were unanimous about making this kind of seminar a regular event.

The Soviet delegation had a meeting with the president of the CIFP, Rene Rodriguez Cruz. In connection with the 25th anniversary of the CIFP, A.D. Bekarevich presented to him messages from Z.M. Kruglova, chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Links

with Foreign Countries, and from V.A. Shatalov, USSR pilot-astronaut and president of the SSCF.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### BOOK ON LATIN AMERICA'S INDIANS STRESSES CURRENT DEVELOPMENT

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 137-139

[Review by T. Ye. Lvova of book "Istoricheskiye sudby Amerikanskikh indeytsev" [The Historical Fate of the American Indians], Moscow, "Nauka", 1985, 360 pages]

[Text] This book is based on materials from the first symposium of Soviet Indian specialists, which took place in Moscow in 1982. It represents a successful continuation of the series of collective monographs by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences; these monographs have covered many problems related to the history and current position of the continent's peoples.

The formation of the Paleo-Indian population is examined in the first section of the work entitled "The Origin of the Indigenous Population of America." In his article N.N. Dikov provides a new formulation of the questions concerning the Asiatic origin of the aborigines and the time the continent was settled. Based on research concerning the genetic uniqueness of the local population V.P. Alekseyev in his work draws a conclusion about the specific nature and relatively independent development of the racial processes, which hinders the search for direct analogies to the anthropological features of the American Indians in the Old World (p 30).

The second section of the book is devoted to ancient civilizations and societies of America. From his analysis of the important methodological problem of how to calculate the rate of the historical process in the New World, V.A. Bashilov comes to the conclusion that hypotheses about the "retardation" of this process among the aborigines of America is unfounded. The articles in this section view the various aspects of the history of the ancient states of Mesoamerica, including their typology (V.A. Gulyayev) and the way of life and culture of the Mayan Indians (A.A. Borodatova, G.G. Yershova and L.P. Lisnenko). They contain interesting generalizations, which may become the starting point for future research.

The work of A.F. Kofman is in a different area: he analyzes the state of the Aztecs' spiritual culture at the time of the Spanish conquest: from the example of the philosophical lyrics by the ruler Nesualcoitl, the author draws



the conclusion that during this period the position of the Aztecs did not "fit into the framework of folklore, signifying the formation of individual philosophical thought and individual literary styles" (p 107). In the material which he presents E.G. Aleksandrov shows that the national consciousness of the Antilles Indians was developed in accordance with certain forms of ethnic orientation. The work of Yu.Ye. Berezkina is methodologically interesting and rich in content; she classifies the mythological subjects of South America and provides a comparative analysis of them. The author picks out about 10 traditions existing in the region and presents a map of their distribution; it provides evidence that the movement of the ancient Indian tribes took place in the direction of north to south.

The Indians in the colonial period constitute the subject of the next section. The high theoretical level of the article by S.Ya. Serov about the ethnic aspect of colonial Peru should be noted. The author reveals the role of the ethnic cultures in the social structure of colonial society; the specific features of that society were the combination of class and occupational indicators with the race-somatic and cultural indicators (p 127). The scholar draws an interesting conclusion about the organization of the population in colonial Peru into larger ethnosocial blocs. Serov dwells on various methods for the mutual dissemination of the cultural influence of the Hispanic-Creole and Indian groups of the population (p 134). The works by V.M. Kalashnikov and A.A. Istomin make a valuable contribution to the study of the history of relations between the North American population on the one hand, and Russia and the countries of Western Europe, on the other hand. The articles by A.V. Loginov and N.N. Kulakova are devoted to the unique culture of the American Indians.

The section entitled "The Present-Day Indian Population of Latin America" deserves particular attention. It contains materials which touch upon timely problems of the political struggle in the continent's countries. At the present stage the growth of the Indians' political consciousness is one of the graphic indicators of the intensification of the revolutionary processes in Latin America. In a summary article I.R. Grigulevich talks about the rise of the Indian movement in America as a part of the general struggle of the indigenous population and other oppressed ethnic and national groups in the present-day world (p 172). The author traces the history of the liberation struggle of the South American Indians, singling out five basic stages ranging from the uprisings of Tupak Amaru II to the Cuban revolution. The article traces the formational path of what were at first the Indian organizations and what are now at the present stage the regional, occupational and class organizations of the Indians themselves. Grigulevich provides interesting material on the countries of Latin America, while demonstrating the inevitability of the ever better organization of the indigenous population and the formulation of its political requirements.

Logically related to this work are the articles by V.N. Grishin and Ye.F. Tolstoy on the struggle of the Guatemalan Indians, as well as the article by I.F. Khoroshayeva on the social activity level of the Mexican Indians. The authors cite an important idea about the legitimate growth of self awareness among the indigenous population and its inclusion in the general anti-

imperialist struggle of the continent's working people. The Grishin article examines the evolution of the theory of the immanent passivity and reactionary nature of the Indian peoples, and it provides a correct criticism of the left-radical concept of "ethnic nationalism," which in the 70's strongly influenced the ideology of the revolutionary guerrilla movements of Guatemala. In their articles Grishin and Tolstaya emphasize that a feature of the country's domestic political situation is the fact that the reviving Indian movement has proved to be in the epicenter of the revolutionary struggle in the country.

In this section the work of Yu.A. Zubritskiy is singled out on the basis of the themes and problems which it covers. The work contains an analysis of the development of Soviet Indian studies, its place in Latin American studies and its indissoluble link with the latter. The author provides evidence of the main tasks facing Indian specialists, taking into account the active formation of Indian national organizations and the politicization of the indigenous population of Latin America; he takes notes of the link between the formation of these organizations with the process of the national-ethnic consolidation of the Indian population (p 190). The article emphasizes the importance for an analysis of the revolutionary struggle of such a socio-political factor as the social stratification of the Indian masses. Zubritskiy maintains correctly that one of the main tasks of Soviet Indian studies is to study the specific features of the interpretation (with regard to the Indian communities) of the processes and phenomena common to all the peoples of Latin America (p 184).

An analysis of the ideology, political struggle and the reasons for the growth in the social activity level of American Indians based on materials about the operations of specific ethno-social and political organizations in the USA and Latin America is provided in the articles by A.D. Dridzo, V.A. Tishkov and K.V. Tsekhanskaya. The works by L.A. Faynberg, M.G. Kotovskaya, P.V. Gribanov and L.S. Sheynbaum are devoted to the situation of the indigenous population in the political communities of such countries as Brazil, Guyana and Argentina. Materials on the classification of Indian languages and sociolinguistics can be put into a separate group. D.A. Fillipova notes that the specific feature of bilingualism in Paraguay is the functional division of Spanish and Guaraní into the official and conversational languages (p 252). The typological features of the Mishteks language (Mexico) and Kechua are revealed in the articles by Ye.I. Tsarenko and A.N. Natarov. For the first time in the scholarly literature Natarov proposes a scheme for classifying the dialects of Kechua and provides a list of the regions in which it is distributed (pp 273-274). S.V. Cheshko's article is devoted to a criticism of the bourgeois concept of the Pan Indian ethnic community.

The book "Istoricheskiye sudby amerikanskikh indeytsev" does have shortcomings. First of all, it is essential to note that the chronological classification of works is inadequate. The articles in the collection possess different specific "genre" features: they are theoretical works, reviews, materials containing an analysis of ethnographic sources, articles on ideological-political problems, and philological investigations. In this regard one would wish that the compilers of similar collections practice a

stricter selection of works according to the similarity of the subject matter and the purposes of the research. In addition, the treatment of the contribution made by the Indians to the national-liberation struggle of the continent's peoples seems inadequate. Unfortunately, the book does not reflect the unique and very important processes in the growth of national self awareness which are taking place in the countries of the Andes, where the Indian population predominates.

In general, however, the collection represents a serious step forward in the development of Soviet Indian studies.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### BOOK ON EUROPE, U.S. VIEWS OF CENTRAL AMERICAN INSTABILITY

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 141-142

[Review by V.P. Sudarev of book "Third World Instability. Central America as a European-American Issue" by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. New York, 1985, 156 pages]

[Text] This publication by the New York Council on Foreign Relations is devoted to important foreign policy aspects of the Central American crisis: to its role in the relations between the USA and Western Europe, as well as to the policy of a number of European states in this region. The book's authors include F. Moran, Spain's former minister of foreign affairs; A. Mertes, the state minister of the FRG federal ministry of foreign affairs; and M. Barnes, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. Congress. The representative composition of the political figures who took part in the work on this collection makes it possible not only to trace the characteristics of the approach taken to the region's problems by representatives of forces of varying political orientation, but also to arrive at an opinion of the content of the government policy of a number of developed capitalist states in this region of the world in the 80's.

Although Moran does not hide his adherence to the ideas of Atlanticism, he sees the primary reason for the crisis in the worsening of the socio-economic and political problems of the subregion; the USA, bears the responsibility for this worsening of the situation, has traditionally viewed Central America as its own zone of influence. The R. Reagan administration's desire to turn this region of the world into the "neuralgic center of East-West confrontation" not only does not contribute to settling the crisis, but also leads to its expansion by drawing such states as Honduras and Costa Rica into it (p 17).

Moran thinks that along with economic assistance to the Central American countries, Europe can make a real contribution to the regulation of the crisis by following a policy of "building bridges" with regard to the radical states and movements opposed to the West. Without this, as without the support of the "Contadora group," a long-range solution to the crisis is impossible (pp 32-33). The position set forth by Moran reflects the views of those circles of European Social Democracy which take a realistic approach to



the reasons and nature of the crisis and are interested in its political settlement.

The "elite" of West German Christian Democracy share a different viewpoint. Mertes, although he recognizes the socio-economic backwardness and political tyranny which have dominated in this region as the basic reason for the crisis, focuses attention on the fact that the "destabilizing" policy of Cuba and Nicaragua--with the support of the Soviet Union--has supposedly drawn these countries into the sphere of East-West conflicts.

In this regard, Mertes thinks that Western Europe should show greater solidarity with the USA in its approach to Central America because the "threat" to one NATO member is a threat to the entire alliance. He also opposes the position of European Social Democracy in support of its "mistaken judgement of Moscow and Havana's strategy"; he criticizes from pro-American positions those political forces in Latin America, which adhere to the concept of "equal distance." Nonetheless, Mertes is forced to recognize that such actions as the mining of ports and the publication of "assassination handbooks" are dangerous. It is true that they are dangerous only in that they contribute to the growth of anti-Americanism in Europe. The author of this viewpoint persistently calls on Washington for broader dialog between the NATO allies and the joint actions on the settlement of the crisis.

The "American part" of the collection is also represented by two positions. For I. Kristol, a teacher at New York University, everything is extremely clear and simple. The United States should act in Central America in the spirit of the "Monroe doctrine," while Western Europe should display greater restraint and prudence when the discussion concerns the Western hemisphere.

The chapter presented by M. Barnes reflects the views of those representatives of the U.S. ruling circles for whom a realistic approach to the Central American problem in general is characteristic. He accuses the Reagan administration of failure to understand the processes which are taking place in this subregion and of primitivism in evaluating their causes and nature. Barnes cannot in any way be accused of having sympathies for revolutionary Nicaragua, and nonetheless, he considers controversial the viewpoint which says that the emergence of a leftist regime in Central America poses a threat to U.S. security (p 74). The United States, he thinks, should show greater restraint and avoid direct interference in the development of events. In the search for a political settlement of the crisis it must depend on aid from the Western European allies, and not require of them unconditional support for their "forceful actions."

The conclusion provides a "Latin American" view on this subject matter, expressed by D. Oduber, the former president of Costa Rica and vice president of the Socialist International. According to this opinion, the delayed and incorrect U.S. reaction to political changes in the region, and primarily the aspiration "to place" the Central American crisis in the context of East-West conflicts, leads to growing disagreements between the U.S and Western Europe. Oduber notes that the Latin Americans traditionally have seen from the Western European states a more restrained, open approach to the problems



of this region, an approach which is not limited to a hard ideological framework. They welcome the "return" of Europe to Latin America (p 145) in the 70's and think that a regulated settlement of the conflict in this region can be achieved through the united efforts of the "Contadora group," of other Latin American countries and of the Western European states.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

U.S.-CHINA MILITARY CONTACTS CRITICIZED

OW140615 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 0300 GMT 13 May 86

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Yang Dezhi, chief of general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, continues his visit to the United States. According to the Pentagon, the major theme of talks held between U.S. military activists and Yang Dezhi was naval cooperation. During the talks, they discussed the prospects of selling antisubmarine torpedoes to China. Concerning this matter, station observer Ivanov writes:

As observed, the one who insisted on discussing naval issues during the talks was not Yang Dezhi but Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Yang Dezhi, who served in the army before and after the Korean war, is not a navy officer, whereas Crowe, who was commander in chief of U.S. Pacific armed forces not long ago, is a navy officer; therefore, he is the right person to discuss this subject. Of course, he is not the first naval military activist to strive to forge naval cooperation with China. The United States has shown concern over this subject since as early as the 70's. An August 1984 visit by a military delegation led by Secretary of the Navy Lehman has played a very important role in this matter. Lehman has pointed out that his visit to China laid a firm foundation for friendship and military technological cooperation between the two navies.

According to certain information, cooperation measures to modernize the Chinese navy's antisubmarine capability were discussed for the first time during a talk in autumn 1984, which included the issue on providing China with MK-46 torpedoes. When reporting on this talk, UPI quoted a Pentagon official's remarks: If China wants to buy torpedoes, let's sell them to China. Why was the Pentagon so happy about this sale? It is very likely that the Pentagon wanted to dispose of its obsolete goods as soon as possible. According to UPI, the United States started producing such torpedoes more than 20 years ago; namely, in 1963. However, this is not the key point. Reports from U.S. newspapers have indicated that Washington is attempting to make China oppose the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by supplying China with U.S. weapons, while doing its best to protect Taiwan from any threat. In other words, the United States wants to utilize the MK-46 torpedo and other weapons to undermine the process of China's improving its relations with its neighbors. If this is achieved, it will make China dependent on Western military supplies, and, in the end, China will have to act in line with the U.S. policy of aggression.

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

CAPTURED MUJAHIDIN 'TEXTBOOKS OF HATE' ASSAILED

Moscow GUDOK in Russian 21 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by APN correspondent B. Gan: "Three Cartridges Plus Five Cartridges Equal Eight Dead Men"]

[Text] The battles in the area of Javar, three kilometers from the Pakistan border in the area of Khowst, have been silent a long time. In this populated point, whose name was spread all over the world press, one of the largest bases of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries was destroyed. The factory markings on the trophies seized there--bullets, automatic rifles, surface-to-air missiles and other military ammunition--show that the Afghan dushmans are completely dependent on the U.S., England and other western countries as well as on reactionary regimes.

I saw some of these trophies at an exhibit at the DRA Ministry Of Defense. But suddenly a few days ago they called from the Afghan Ministry of Education and invited me to get acquainted with some new trophies from Javar.

"Don't be surprised," said DRA Minister of Education Abdul Samad Qayyumi. "The 'trophies' from Javar have not even been shown around our ministry."

On the table soft-cover books were lying in a neat pile. I took one of them. It was an elementary school Pushtu-language mathematics textbook. I leafed through it. On the first page cartridges, several daggers, bayonets and automatic rifles were pictured. Further on--the same pictures but this time with arithmetic examples. Approximately like this: "3 cartridges plus 5 cartridges equal 8 dead men". Further on were problems with automatic rifles and daggers. At the end of the textbook cannons and bullets appeared. This, according to the authors, is how small children should learn to count. The primer does not yield anything to the math textbook. There weapons and stalwart "mujahidin" are pictured.

The text is noteworthy. "My father is a mujahid. My brother is a mujahid. When I grow up I will become a mujahid and kill unbelievers."

This is not a primer but an actual textbook of hate. These are the textbooks prepared with the money of western "educators".

These "textbooks" are in direct opposition to the books which the children of People's Afghanistan study. On their pages are peasants working their land, a doctor in the kishlak, the first tractor on the field...everything, which the revolution has brought to the Afghan people.

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